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THE RISE OF THE NOVEL OF  
MANNERS

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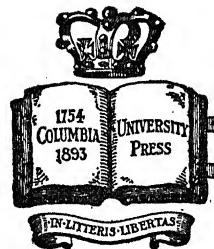
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# THE RISE OF THE NOVEL OF MANNERS

A STUDY OF ENGLISH PROSE FICTION  
BETWEEN 1600 AND 1740

BY

CHARLOTTE E. MORGAN, PH.D.



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*This Monograph has been approved by the Department of English in Columbia University as a contribution to knowledge worthy of publication.*

A. H. THORNDIKE,  
*Secretary.*

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## PREFACE

In the following dissertation two objects have been kept in view; first, the presentation of a succinct account of the more important types of prose narrative current between 1600 and 1740 with special reference to the novel of manners; and second, the facilitation of further studies by supplying full bibliographical details. To accomplish this two-fold purpose only the more typical and influential works have been considered in the essay, but to compensate for the consequent omissions, the minor works, together with discussions concerning authorship, translation, sources, chronology, and the like, have been briefly dealt with in the footnotes and in the bibliography. To make the latter of the greatest practical value I have endeavoured to cite my authority for every title, and as far as possible have added the British Museum shelf number. Neither the essay nor the bibliography makes any pretence to completeness. This study is, so to speak, but a clearing of the ground in a field where little has been done and much remains to be accomplished.

My indebtedness to previous studies, such as the general works of Dunlop, Cross, and Raleigh, and to the numerous monographs devoted to special periods and topics are indicated in the notes and bibliography. To Professor Joel E. Spingarn, of Columbia University, I am indebted for information bearing on the French development and for numerous valuable suggestions. My thanks are also due to Professor John W. Cunliffe, of the University of Wisconsin, for his kindness in procuring me reading privileges in the Bodleian Library; to Professor Ashley H. Thorndike and Professor William W. Lawrence, of Columbia University, for helpful criticism, and most of all to Professor William P. Trent, of Columbia University, under whose kindly guidance this study has been made. I desire, also, to express my thanks to my mother, without whose constant encouragement and counsel this book would never have been written.

## THE BEGINNINGS OF THE NOVEL OF MANNERS IN ENGLAND

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### INTRODUCTORY

The English prose fiction of the century and a half between the publication of the *Euphues* and the *Arcadia* and the appearance of Richardson's *Pamela*, exclusive of those three masterpieces *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Robinson Crusoe*, and *Gulliver's Travels*, possesses scant literary merit and slight general interest. To the student, however, the narratives from 1600 to 1740 are not devoid of value, since the transition in content, structure, and style from the courtly romances and cynical rogue stories to the idealistic novel of manners was largely effected through the numerous translations and imitations of works of foreign fiction. Together with the conduct-book, the drama, and the periodical, these gradually moulded the taste of that fiction-reading public, which, by its enthusiastic reception of the Richardsonian stories gave such a stimulus to the rapid development of the novel of manners.

A chronological list of about five hundred prose narratives printed between 1600 and 1740, compiled from the *Stationers' Register*, the *British Museum Catalogue*, and other sources will be found in the bibliography. For purposes of discussion, however, the chronological method proved so cumbersome in dealing with the large number of occasional and anonymous works, many of which are reprints of Elizabethan productions and the majority translations or close imitations of French and Spanish narratives, that it seemed wiser to discuss in the text, only significant and prominent examples of several loosely defined groups, and to comment in the bibliography very briefly upon the remainder.

Before we proceed to any classification, a distinction must be drawn between literary and popular fiction. The former was written for a limited aristocratic public by authors consciously conforming to recognized canons, in order to attain

certain artistic ends. The latter, i. e. popular fiction, was written, regardless of rules, to catch the fancy of readers at large. In the seventeenth century, between these two groups of fiction, the aristocratic and the plebeian, there was little interrelation. From 1625 or earlier, to about 1700, the literary fiction consisted almost exclusively of translations and imitations of the continental narratives which were in vogue at the Stuart courts. The popular fiction of the same period consisted to a very large extent of redactions of the Elizabethan romances and of journalistic narratives imbued with the political and religious temper of the time. Out of the latter grew *Pilgrim's Progress* and *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman*. Toward the very close of the century, after the expulsion of the Stuarts and their more or less French court, a change took place in the nature of the reading public:—the limited aristocracy on the one hand, and the plebeian readers on the other, combined to form one general public possessing many interests and a wide range of taste. This most significant change was brought about by two forces, the breaking down of the patronage system, with the consequent dependence of authors upon the public, and the coincident rise of the commercial class. The influence of the stolid, practical, self-satisfied merchants and manufacturers is shown by the practical morality, the choice of commonplace themes, and the emphasis on prosaic details. All of these features are prominent in the narratives of Defoe, of Richardson, and, though to a less extent, of Swift. To Richardson, however, belongs the honor of fusing the narrative tradition, as it was handed down through the romances, with that which came through the popular fiction.

Of the literary fiction there are three prominent types: the romances, the anti-romances, and the novels or brief tales. The popular fiction, generally speaking, had no literary merit; and, as it had no other aim than immediate success, it rarely possessed more than ephemeral interest, so that on the whole it may be regarded as a negligible factor. The writer has, therefore, considered only those popular productions which in a measure paved the way for Bunyan and Defoe, or contributed directly to the development of the novel of manners.

## CHAPTER I

### THE ROMANCES

The romances of the seventeenth century have long since fallen into oblivion; yet they were read with avidity not merely at the time of their publication, but for a century thereafter. Works so enjoyed by successive generations could not fail to exert a deep influence on both writers and readers of the Richardsonian period. In thus speaking of the "seventeenth century romances," we must not infer that the two hundred and more narratives which are grouped under this head are all cut after one pattern. There are, in addition to the anti-romances and miscellaneous works, at least seven well defined types of romance: the chivalric, the Arcadian, the Euphuistic, the classical, the political, the allegorical, and the heroic. Unfortunately, so few English romances were produced during this period, and these few were such servile imitations of the continental models, that the evolution of the form can be traced only in a general way.

### THE CHIVALRIC ROMANCES

If we turn to the chivalric romances of the Stuart period expecting some such charming versions of the old Arthurian and Carolingian materials as those of Malory and Lord Berners, a bitter disappointment awaits us. Arthur and the Round Table, Launcelot and Guinivere, Tristram and Iseult, together with Charlemagne and his paladins were no longer favorite themes. During the hundred and forty years from 1600 to 1740, Arthurian romances seem to have appeared only three times, in 1625,<sup>1</sup> 1634, and 1700; the *Morte Darthur* after the

<sup>1</sup> *The most ancient and famous History of the renowned Prince Arthur, King of Britain. Newly Refined, 1625.* Reprinted 1634. From this was probably made the chapbook *Great Britain's Glory, being the History of King Arthur [1700?]*. These may have been revisions of Lord Berners' *King*

edition of 1634<sup>2</sup> was not reprinted until 1817, and the *History of the most noble . . . knight, Arthur of Lytell Brytaine* by Lord Berners was not reprinted, at least in its original form, until 1812. The only fresh endeavor to deal, in narrative form, with the Arthurian material<sup>3</sup> is to be found in the little known epics<sup>4</sup> of Sir Richard Blackmore. Less aristocratic heroes, such as Guy of Warwick, Bevis of Hampton, and their like, were not so completely eclipsed in popular esteem by heroes of more recent date. Even after the Restoration such hack writers as Nathaniel Crouch,<sup>4a</sup> and Francis Kirkman re-worked the old material, added new wonders and heightened the extravagant style, producing degenerate versions of *Huon of Bordeaux*, *Paris and Vienne*, *Valentine and Orson*, and the other good old stories, or concocting new ones such as *Tom of Lincoln*,<sup>5</sup> and *The Seven Champions of Christendom*. The crude language, wretched print, and general inferiority of the editions justify us in dismissing them as chap-books. In passing, it is interesting to note that though rough

*Arthur*, but there is no record of an edition of this work in the seventeenth century. His *Huon of Bordeaux* was reprinted in 1601, and was probably the basis of the seventeenth century chapbooks dealing with that hero. Utterson edited Berners's romances in 1812. Cf. the article on "John Bourchier" by Sidney Lee in the *D. N. B.*

<sup>2</sup> A reprint of the edition of Wynkin de Worde by Stansby.

<sup>3</sup> There were, however, plays drawn from the Arthurian material, as for example, Dryden's *King Arthur, or the British Worthy*, 1691.

<sup>4</sup> *Prince Arthur* in 1695 and *King Arthur* in 1697.

<sup>4a</sup> He took the pseudonym of Burton, but whether Richard or Robert is uncertain, and flourished between 1632? and 1725?. He was a most prolific writer, forty-five items being attributed to him in the *D. N. B.* These include religious pieces, such as *Two Journies to Jerusalem*, accounts of explorations, such as *The English Acquisitions in Guinea and the East Indies* (based on Godwin's *Man in the Moon*), and popular histories, such as *Jane Shore* and the romances. Dunton wrote of him, "I think I have given you the very soul of his character when I have told you that his talent lies at collection. He has melted down the best of our English histories into twelvepenny books which are filled with wonders, rarities, and curiosities." See the article on "Burton (Richard or Robert)" by W. E. A. Axon in the *D. N. B.*

<sup>5</sup> The title page of this work gives an excellent idea of the later chivalric romances. Cf. *Bibliography*, under 1605.

in style and devoid of literary merit, they usually possess the virtues of clarity and brevity, so conspicuously absent in more literary productions.

The chivalric romances which really concern us are the Spanish cycles of *Amadis*, *Palmeryn*, and *Belianis*, which made their way into England by way of France late in the sixteenth century.<sup>5a</sup> The first, *The most excellent and plaisante Booke, intituled Treasurie of Amadis of Gaule* was entered for Henry Bynnerman in 1567, and under slightly varying titles, appeared again in 1596, 1619, 1664, and 1694, in addition to several metrical versions. *Amadis* was perhaps the most popular of the Spanish romances, but many others were in high favor. *Palmeryn d'Olivia* translated by Munday in 1586, was reprinted in 1615 and again in 1669; *Palmeryn of England*, another of Munday's translations, appeared in 1587, and was reprinted four times during the ensuing century;<sup>6</sup> *Don Belianis, or the Honour of Chivalry* first appeared in 1598 and had run through at least nine editions by 1700. In general plan, these romances resemble the older ones; the story is the career of the ideal hero from the cradle to the grave—his feats in war, his prowess against the powers of darkness, and his adventures in love. They differ from the Arthurian and Carolingian cycles in having a more complicated plot, a more sophisticated hero, an elaborate code of etiquette, and a larger element of the supernatural and of the sentimental. The method of narration is simple and direct, that is to say, epic; there is not, as in the classical romances, an attempt to "account for the story" by means of a framework.

The English made a few feeble attempts<sup>7</sup> to write similar

<sup>5a</sup> Interesting in this connection, is a note in Appleton's edition of *Don Quixote*, according to which, "it was a common device for authors of such romances to claim that their books were translated from the English." P. 26 n. on *Historia del famoso caballero Tirante el Blanco* (1460).

<sup>6</sup> In 1616, 1638-39, 1664, 1690.

<sup>7</sup> Such seem to be *The most Famous and Delightful History of the Greene Knight and the most Beautiful Princess Beroschia* and the *Heroical Adventure of the Knight of the Sea*, the latter of which is described as "ludicrously overdone" by J. P. Collier, *Bibl. and Crit. Account of the Rarest Books in the Eng. Lang.*, ii. 217.

romances, but the only native works to acquire any fame are three narratives<sup>8</sup> by Emanuel Ford. M. Jusserand<sup>9</sup> classes Ford as a follower of Sidney, and the use of such devices as infant exposure, shipwrecks, slavery, oracles, and pastoral setting indicate a superficial familiarity with the *Arcadia* and the Greek romances, but on the whole, *The History of Ornatus and Artesia*, the *History of Parismus, the Renowned Prince of Bohemia* and the *History of Montelion, Knight of the Oracle* are a combination of the early sentimental stories and the chivalric romances. The number of editions is a striking proof of their popularity. *Ornatus*, published in 1598, reached its seventh edition in 1683; *Parismus* also printed in 1598, reached its thirteenth edition in 1649, its twenty-fourth in 1699, and went through numerous cheap editions in the eighteenth century. *Montelion* seems to have made its first appearance in 1633, yet it reached its seventeenth edition in 1724, and served to give added point to a satire<sup>10</sup> which appeared about the middle of the seventeenth century.

Assuming the name of "Montelion, Knight of the Oracle," an anonymous royalist<sup>10a</sup> sent forth a delightful burlesque combined with a clever religious and political satire. The opportunity to satirize contemporary affairs was afforded by the "life" of Don Juan Lamberto, "beginning with his birth, education and valiant deeds and carrying him through the Civil War, including his defeat of the forty tyrants and his jesting with the Baron of Sussex." Part two narrates "How Crom-

<sup>8</sup> *The most pleasant History of Ornatus and Artesia*, 1598. *Of the famous and pleasant Historie of Parismus, Prince of Bohemia*, 1598. *The Famous History of Montelion, Knight of the Oracle*, 1633.

<sup>9</sup> Jusserand, *The English Novel in the Time of Shakspeare*, pp. 192-198. Full titles of the books referred to in the text, together with the place and date of publication, will be found in the bibliography.

<sup>10</sup> *Don Juan Lamberto; or, a Comical History of the Late Times. The First Part. By Montelion, Knight of the Oracle. The Second Part*, 1661. The B. M. copy contains both parts. There is a note in it suggesting that Part I. was originally published c. 1657 and that it was re-issued with the second part in 1661.

<sup>10a</sup> This work is sometimes attributed to John Phillips, who certainly wrote *Montelion, 1660; or the Prophetical Almanack*, but Sidney Lee in the *D. N. B.* assigns it to Thomas Flatman.

well, Soldan of Britain dyed, and what befel his son the Meek Knight. The Birth of Sir Harry Vane, Knight of the Most Mystical Allegories and how he was honoured by the Priests of the Temple of Blind Zeal" and disgracefully overthrown at the Restoration.

This is, indeed, a most summary account of the chivalric romances, but it is hoped that from it the reader will have gathered some idea of the salient features of this influential type of fiction. The numerous allusions in plays, essays, poetry, and fiction show that for two centuries at least, the names of Palmelyn and Amadis, of Parismus and Montelion, were as familiar and suggestive as Don Quixote and Robinson Crusoe are to-day. Moreover, it is largely to these romances that the early novel is indebted for its conception of the narrative as the direct chronicle of "the whole life and principal adventures" of the hero.

### THE CLASSICAL ROMANCES

The classical romances, as the term was understood in the seventeenth century,<sup>11</sup> signified not only Greek and Roman prose fiction, but also poetical narratives like those of Ovid, and books of travel, natural science and history, such as those of Herodotus, Pliny, Ctesias, and Plutarch. The poetry, travels and history may at once be eliminated, for though they contributed much material and many devices, they are not in the main line of development. The fiction, proper, speaking very generally, comprised short tales of the Milesian order, *Barlaam and Josaphat*, *Apollonius of Tyre*, two realistic and satirical narratives written during the Roman Empire, and the erotic Greek romances.<sup>12</sup>

The original collections of Milesian and similar tales have been lost but many individual stories have survived.<sup>13</sup> They were short tales of intrigue, usually immoral, often indecent,

<sup>11</sup> Cf. P. D. Huet, *De L'Origine des Romans*, *Lettre à M. Segrais*, in *Huetiana* (Ana, vol. vii.).

<sup>12</sup> J. C. Dunlop, *History of Prose Fiction*, ed. Wilson, i. 1-115, ii. 246 sq.

<sup>13</sup> In summaries of Parthinus and Photius for example. See Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman*, p. 114.

more or less satirical, and generally clever. Incorporated in various forms in the literatures of Greece and Rome, they were familiar to the scholars of the Middle Ages, and are thought to be the source, though perhaps not directly, of many of the fabliaux of the Oriental type. During the Renaissance, they were revised by writers of *novelle* such as Boccaccio, Bandello, and Sacchetti, and thus were made familiar in Elizabethan England. With the new century, the taste for the romantic, the aristocratic, and the refined predominated, and these short stories gave way before the long romance. The Restoration brought the realistic tale into favor again, and we find the old Greek stories with their Italian modifications filling collections such as *The Delightful Novels* (1686), and *A Banquet for Gentlemen and Ladies* (1703). They never, however, regained their old prestige, for the new realistic story, imported directly from France, was not merely a hard and fast intrigue, but a careful study from contemporary life.

*Barlaam and Josaphat*<sup>14</sup> and *Apollonius of Tyre* had long been familiar to readers, but so far as the narrative is concerned, are of little importance in the seventeenth century. The former, during the period with which we are concerned, was reprinted only in cheap and abbreviated editions.<sup>15</sup> Dunlop remarks that "it was undoubtedly the model of that species of spiritual fiction so prevalent in France during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries"; but so far as the writer knows, there are no English works modelled upon it. Biographical accounts of saints were not much in demand in Protestant England; in fact, a rather tame version of the life of St. Theodora<sup>16</sup> (1687), by Robert Boyle, seems to be the solitary example. The *Apollonius* was extremely popular in the

<sup>14</sup> The original, written in the eighth century, by John of Damascene is a Christianized version of an Oriental story. Among its many interspersed episodes is the casket story used by Shakspere; cf. Dunlop, i. 76.

<sup>15</sup> In 1669, it was reprinted and bound with a moralized version of *Pandosto*, and in 1711 printed as *The History of the five wise philosophers; or, the wonderful relation of the life of Jehosophat, the hermit son of Averarian, etc.*

<sup>16</sup> *The Martyrdom of Theodora and Didymous. By a Person of Honour* (Robert Boyle).

Middle Ages and to some extent in the Renaissance, but after that, it was seldom printed. It appeared in an Anglo-Saxon fragment, in the *Gesta Romanorum*, in the *Confesso Amantis* of Gower, in a reprint by Wynkin de Worde, in Twyne's *Patterne of Painefull Adventures* (1576), and finally was dramatized by Shakespere in *Pericles*.

The two examples of Latin fiction are the *Golden Ass* of Lucius Apuleius and the fragments of the *Satyricon* of Petronius Arbiter. The former, based on an earlier Greek work, relates in satirical vein the supposed adventures of its author when metamorphosed into an ass. It was very popular in England, if the number of editions is any criterion. The first translation by William Adlington appeared in 1566, and was re-printed in 1571, 1581, 1596, 1600, and 1639. The episode of Cupid and Psyche was particularly admired and often utilized for plays and poems.<sup>17</sup> As a whole, or as a prose narrative, *The Ass* was not imitated until the end of the century, when it furnished a model for travels of inanimate objects, and encouraged the use of fictitious travels for satirical purposes. The work of Petronius,<sup>18</sup> which purports to be a satirical account of the corrupt life at the court of Nero, was less generally known, partly on account of its fragmentary form and partly because of its scandalous character. There seems to be no English translation before 1663. That was reprinted in 1677 and 1743. A version by Thomas Brown of Shropshire came out in 1708, and a few years later, in 1736, still another translation was made by John Addison. The direct influence of Petronius is seen in the elegant neo-classic satires with which pedants of the Renaissance amused themselves, as for example, the now forgotten *Misoponeri Satyri-*

<sup>17</sup> Gosson, writing in 1579, condemns such a piece "lately played at Paules"; Hazlitt mentions a poem, *Cupid's Courtship*; and Shakerley Marmion produced, in 1637, a *Morall Poem intituled the Legend of Cupid and Psyche*; cf. Dunlop, i. 113, n.

<sup>18</sup> *Petronius; a Study in Ancient Realism*, by F. F. Abbott, *Sewanee Review*, 1899, vii. 435-43.

H. T. Peck, *Trimalchio's Dinner from the Satyricon of Petronius*.

*con*,<sup>19</sup> the *Comus*<sup>20</sup> of Puteanus and the *Pantaleonis Vaticinia*<sup>21</sup> of James Hume. Precisely what relation the *Satyricon* bears to later fiction is exceedingly difficult to determine. In its biographical structure, interspersion of stories, and realism of presentation, it resembles the picaresque narratives, and no doubt the writers borrowed episodes and devices, but I suspect that their indebtedness does not extend beyond matters of detail. Likewise, the indebtedness of the popular court memoirs and similar narratives to the *Satyricon* is still a matter for conjecture, but it is doubtful if it was greater than the supplying of a vague classical sanction to the shameless accounts of court scandal.

All the classical fiction we have so far considered was quite overshadowed by the Greek erotic tales<sup>22</sup> to which the seven-

<sup>19</sup> *Misoponeri Satyricon cum notis aliquot ad obscuriora prosae loca, et Graecorum interpretatione.* Lugduni Batavorum, 1617.

<sup>20</sup> *Eryci Puteani Comus sive Phagesiposia Cimmeria. Somnium;* Lovani, 1608, 1611. Reprinted at Oxford, 1634. This work furnished Milton with a hint for his masque. Cf. Immanuel Schmidt, *Milton's jugendjahre und jugendwerke, Sammlung gemeinverständlicher . . . Vorträge*, new series, v, xi, no. 243. Hamburg, 1896.

<sup>21</sup> *Pantaleonis Vaticinia, Satyra, Jacobo Humio, Rathomagi,* 1633. For an account of these books, see Begley's edition of *Nova Solyma*, ii., pp. 385-87.

<sup>22</sup> For a discussion of these works see: E. Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, C. J. Goodwin, *Romance Writing among the Greeks*. *Sewanee Review*, 1897, v, 290 ff., 409 ff., M. Oettering, *Heliodor und seine Bedeutung für die Litteratur*, F. M. Warren, *History of the Novel prior to the Seventeenth Century*, and P. D. Huet, *De L'Origine des Romans, Huetiana* (Ana., Vol. VIII.).

Scholars still disagree as to the precise dates, sequence and origin of these romances, but the majority agree with Rohde that they were written in considerable numbers by the Sophists of the third and fourth centuries A. D., and were a natural evolution from the erotic stories of the Greek poets, the ethnographic Utopias, pseudo-histories, travels, fables, and Milesian tales.

The principal romances are: *Of the Incredible Things in Thule, or, Dinius and Dercyllis*, by Diogenes; the *Babylonica*, by Iamblichus; the *Ethiopian History of Theagenes and Chariclea*, by Heliodorus; *Leucippe and Clitophon*, by Achilles Tatius; *Daphnis and Chloe*, by Longus; *Habrocomas and Anthia*, by Xenophon of Ephesus; and *Hysmene and Hysmenias*, by Eustathius or Eumathius. The last is much later than the others, not having been written until the twelfth century. Heliodorus, Tatius, and Longus are translated by R. Smith in the Bohn Library. All references are to this translation in the edition of 1906.

teenth century romances are largely indebted. Comparatively few of the Greek narratives have come down to us in their entirety, but there are fragments of others embodied in the summaries of Photius and Suidas. Practically all with which we are familiar to-day were current in the seventeenth century, for they are mentioned by Bishop Huet. Only three, *The Ethiopian History* of Heliodorus,<sup>23</sup> the *Leucippe and Clitophon*<sup>24</sup> of Achilles Tatius, and the *Daphnis and Chloe* of Longus were translated into English, but as French and Latin were familiar to the educated there is no reason to suppose the remaining romances were not almost as well known. The *Daphnis and Chloe*<sup>25</sup> is unique in being a simple pastoral, quite free from the absurd adventures and marvels of the Heliodorian romances. It is the most artistically perfect, yet, although several times translated and frequently alluded to, it failed to stimulate imitation until the time of Rousseau, when the taste for exotic naturalism gave it a tremendous vogue.<sup>26</sup>

The famous *Ethiopian History* by Heliodorus, of which Bishop Huet wrote so enthusiastically, served as the pattern for the other Greek romances. The general theme is aptly described by Rohde;<sup>27</sup> "a couple of lovers fly before their pursuers from land to land, amid a gloomy alternation of misfortune, imminent ruin is averted at the last moment, and virtue obtains its triumph and reward in plenary happiness." The setting is sometimes an indefinite historical era, but there is no attempt to depict historical personages, to describe accurately old customs, or to reproduce the atmosphere of a past age. The characters—and this is true of all the romances—are for the most part uninteresting puppets, submissively

<sup>23</sup> The date of the original translation by Underdowne is uncertain. It was entered on the S. R. for Coldock in 1569, but the earliest dated edition is that of 1587. The undated copy in the Bodleian is presumably older.

<sup>24</sup> Hazlitt mentions an edition of 1598, but the better known translation is that by James Hodges in 1638.

<sup>25</sup> Translated in 1598 by Angell Day and again, in 1657, as "a sweet pastoral for young ladies."

<sup>26</sup> Cf. W. W. Gregg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, p. 12.

<sup>27</sup> Quoted by Dunlop, i. 15. His reference is to the German edition of Rohde, p. 378.

enduring all the whims of fate. The heroine<sup>28</sup> alone seems to have any initiative and our interest in her is aroused more by the unusual phenomenon of feminine leadership than by the charm or strength of her personality. The attention centers around the series of episodes and scenes through which the characters pass. In the sequence of these episodes no effort is made to develop a central theme. The only attempt to give even the semblance of unity consists in having the final result work out the fulfillment of an oracle, and in having dreams and visions prepare the way for lesser episodes. The desire is to accomplish the result in a manner most surprising to the reader. Surprise and suspense are two of the most striking qualities of the Greek romances, and writers and critics of the seventeenth century insisted upon them as indispensable in a good romance.

The structure, awkward enough in any case, was further hampered, either by putting the story in the mouth of a third person who figures in a sub-plot, or by letting the hero describe his own adventures after they have taken place. Thus the point of view is that of an onlooker rather than that of a participant, or in other words, is indirect, passive, and reflective, instead of being, as in the chivalric romances, direct and active. This reflective point of view characterizes not only all the seventeenth century romances but also the novels of Richardson and the narratives of Defoe. The indirect method of narration led to the abrupt opening in the midst of things, for the supposed narrator took up the thread where the hero or heroine crossed his path, and worked both forward and backward, incidentally rambling off into his own affairs and the life-histories of all chance acquaintances. This method, also, the seventeenth century servilely copied—we find La Calprenède and his contemporaries rivalling Heliodorus in the “art of holding the suspense” by introducing a new story at every crisis. The action was still further complicated by disquisitions on love not unlike the love *dubbi*,<sup>29</sup> by resounding

<sup>28</sup> We meet the type in the Elizabethan drama, notably in the comedies and tragico-comedies, for instance, Shakspere's Rosalind, Beatrice, Portia, but seldom in the fiction.

<sup>29</sup> Particularly in the *Leucippe and Clitophon*. See pp. 354, 363, 375.

hortatory passages both in and out of season, and by long descriptions of so-called natural scenery. We are never left in doubt as to the precise appearance of the sympathetic rocks and trees to which the unfortunate characters confided their woes. The style, ornate in the extreme, well suited the matter. The carefully wrought descriptions, the appropriate phrasing of sentiments, and the "elegance" of the diction rivalled the subject-matter in holding the attention. In the peculiar balance and antithesis, in the far-fetched figures, in the "un-natural natural history," in the subtle playing on words, we see the model of the Euphuism of the Elizabethans, and of the preciousity of the seventeenth century.

The widespread popularity of these romances can scarcely be gauged by the number of editions, but the fact that *Heliodorus*<sup>30</sup> ran through ten editions in English between 1587 and 1700 is at least suggestive. We find, too, that the dramatists ransacked these romances for episodes and situations.<sup>31</sup> More directly they furnished material for such a play as Gough's *Strange Discovery* (1640), founded on *Heliodorus*, and Settle's *Fatal Love* (1680), drawn from *Leucippe and Clitophon*. Their vogue is to be explained on the ground that they satisfied the taste of the time for the theatrical, the complex, the marvellous, the sentimental, and, to a certain extent, for the morbid. They were the product of a sophisticated and decadent civilization, but they possessed the superficial effectiveness, the fatalism, and the word-painting with which to capture the fancy of the imaginative, sensation-loving Elizabethans. And at the same time, they were characterized by an over-refinement and unreality which appealed strongly to European society at the close of the Renaissance, when men were once more looking backward rather than forward, for refinement rather than strength, and seeking to escape from, rather than to cope with, the hard facts of reality. The influ-

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Oeftering, *Heliodor und seine Bedeutung für die Litteratur*.

<sup>31</sup> It is hardly necessary to mention the devices of infant exposure, the fulfilling of an oracle, sleeping potions, shipwreck, mistaken identity, and the like, which figure so prominently in the romantic comedies of Shakspere, Beaumont and Fletcher, and their contemporaries.

ence of the Greek erotic romances cannot be over-emphasized. They were an incentive to the cultivation of the sentimental and artificial in all phases of life and literature, and at the same time they served as models in structure, style, content, and spirit, for those seventeenth century romances which immediately preceded the novel of manners. As Mrs. Barbauld<sup>32</sup> suggestively commented in discussing Richardson's predecessors: "If we were to search among the treasures of ancient literature for fiction similar to the modern novel, we should find none more closely resembling it than 'Theagenes and Chariclea.'"

#### THE ARCADIAN ROMANCES<sup>33</sup>

Among the most popular of seventeenth century romances was the *Arcadia* of Sir Philip Sidney, which, though first printed in 1590, was so widely read in our period that it very properly calls for some consideration. In this work Sidney combined the chivalric and Greek narratives in a manner highly suggestive of the heroic romances. To put it briefly; he was indebted to the *Amadis* cycle for episodes,<sup>34</sup> and to Heliodorus, Montemayor, and Sannazaro for the design, a semi-pastoral in which courtiers and ladies-in-waiting, posing as shepherds and shepherdesses, figure in endless love scenes interspersed by duels, battles, and shipwrecks. Looking toward the later development, we note three significant features in the *Arcadia*: first, the shifting of the interest forward from the adventures ensuing on the elopement, as in the Greek romances, to those concerned with the wooing of the heroine; secondly, the idealizing of the characters to make them represent the "perfect courtier" and the "perfect lady"; and thirdly, the mingling of the Greek indirect method of

<sup>32</sup> *The Correspondence of Samuel Richardson. A Biographical Account*, by Anna Laetitia Barbauld. London, 1804, i. xi.

<sup>33</sup> For a detailed discussion see: *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, ed. H. O. Sommer, K. Brunhuber, *Die Arcadia und ihre Nachläufer*, S. M. Davis, *Life and Times of Sir Philip Sidney*, which contains a full summary of the *Arcadia*, and W. W. Gregg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, pp. 142-154.

<sup>34</sup> Sidney's indebtedness to Bk. II of Herberay des Essarts's translation of the *Amadis* has been pointed out by Brunhuber and by W. V. Moody. See also a note in Upham, *The French Influence in English Literature*, p. 50.

narration and its accompanying sentimental and reflective point of view with the direct method of the romances of chivalry. Yet it must not be inferred that the *Arcadia* is a mere conglomeration. It is decidedly the best romance we shall have to consider, a masterpiece of its kind, and furthermore, in characterization, notably in the sympathetic delineation of Philoclea and Pamela, there is nothing comparable with it until the narratives of Richardson. That Richardson named his "virtuous serving-maid" after Sidney's heroine is an interesting instance of literary relationship.<sup>35</sup>

The original edition appeared in 1590, and was so popular that the fourth reprint was made in 1599. The new century saw no waning of its vogue. During the forty years preceding the outbreak of the war, it was printed no less than nine times, three times more by the end of the century, and shortly thereafter "modernized" by a certain Mrs. Stanley.<sup>36</sup> There were also, several additions, continuations, and dramatizations.<sup>37</sup> References to the *Arcadia* are legion. We all know Milton's acknowledgment that the "vain amatorious poem" was a book "in that kind full of worth and wit."<sup>38</sup> Waller, Cowley, Sir William Temple, and Bishop Hurd all read it with pleasure. Finally, Addison, it will be remembered, mentioned it among the books in "Leonora's Library."<sup>39</sup> Indeed, so great was the reputation of Sidney's *Arcadia* that it was honored with both German and French translations, and in 1611, we find Du Bartas referring to Sidney as one of the "three firm pillars of the English speech."<sup>40</sup> The Italian

<sup>35</sup> Jusserand, *The English Novel in the Time of Shakspere*, p. 274.

<sup>36</sup> 1590, 1606, 1613, 1623, 1627, 1628-29, 1633, 1654-5, 1662, 1674, 1725.

<sup>37</sup> *A Supplement of a Defect in the Third Part*, by the Earl of Stirling in 1621, a *Sixth Book* by Robert Beling in 1624, a continuation by Mrs. Weames in 1651, a poetical version of an episode, the much read *Argalus and Parthenia* by Quarles, in 1629, and dramatizations like Shirley's *Arcadia*, c. 1630-40, and Glapthorne's *Argalus and Parthenia*, c. 1639. See Ward, III., 102.

<sup>38</sup> *Eikonoklastes*, Section I.—*Works*, London, 1801, iii. 451.

<sup>39</sup> *Spectator*, 37.

<sup>40</sup> Jusserand, *The English Novel in the Time of Shakspere*, p. 274, mentions that two translations appeared so close to one another, 1624 and 1625, as to give rise to a bitter quarrel. He also quotes *The Week* of Du Bartas from *Les Oeuvres* (1611). More and Sir Nicholas Bacon were the other "pillars."

Biondi referred to Sidney as "the Phoenix" of romance writers, whose "Arcadia he was unable to translate but hoped to imitate."<sup>41</sup> As a matter of fact his romances are far more in the manner of the French adaptations of Heliodorus than of Sidney.

Imitations, strange to say, were not very numerous. In England about the time of the publication of the *Arcadia*, Greene, Lodge, and others wrote, to borrow their own phrase, "after the manner of Sir Philip Sidney." They imitated, however, merely the externals, and in a few years their works were reprinted only as chapbooks. During the seventeenth century, although many romances were given an Arcadian title and many authors were indebted to it for their episodes, there was only one close imitation, *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania* (1621), by Lady Mary Wroth. This most invertebrate romance has never been reprinted but because the authoress was "niece to Sir Philip Sidney," it has received far more attention than it deserves. The other romances of the time were translations or close imitations of the French. In short, so far as our own fiction is concerned, the influence of the *Arcadia* although it remained a popular book for so long, due in part, perhaps, to the prestige of Sidney's name, is a negligible factor. Its vogue is interesting as showing that there already existed in English fiction characteristics and tendencies which, had it not been for the political disturbances that checked literary development, would in all probability have produced the same sort of romances that were later imported from France. What influence, if any, the *Arcadia* had on the continent is purely a matter for conjecture.<sup>42</sup> No study has been made of its influence on French fiction, though its likeness to D'Urfé's *Astrée*, and the characteristics which it has in common with the heroic romances offer an interesting field for speculation.

<sup>41</sup> Preface to his romance *Donzella Desterrada*, which appeared in English in 1635.

<sup>42</sup> In addition to the translations of 1624 and 1625, M. Jusserand cites a play, Mareschal's *Cour Bergère* (1640), mentions that a copy of the 1605 edition of the *Arcadia* was in the Jesuit library that later came into the possession of Fouquet, and states that Niceron, Florian and Chapelain admired it. *The Eng. Novel*, p. 279.

## THE EUPHUISTIC ROMANCES

The other great Elizabethan romance, the *Euphues*<sup>43</sup> of John Lyly, is less obviously indebted to its chivalric and Greek predecessors. Indeed, in spite of its romantic tone and style, so realistic is it in purpose and content that M. Jusserand regards it as our first novel of manners.<sup>44</sup> Yet, to quote Dr. Utter, who has analyzed it carefully, the plot although "one which could hardly fail of success if properly worked out" was left "so undeveloped as to be scarcely distinguishable beneath the other material under which it is burdened. We find all the machinery for development and analysis of character and emotions standing idle, a complete absence of background and sense of fact that would reflect contemporary life and manners with anything like specific detail."<sup>45</sup> As a matter of fact, Lyly cared nothing for his story and little for his characters; his whole concern was to teach by precept and example the ladies and gentlemen of Elizabeth's court how to behave according to the latest Italian fashion. In the *Arcadia* there is a somewhat similar didactic element, in that Sidney was interested in the "perfect courtier." But there is a fundamental difference between the two; Sidney was concerned with the Platonic ideal in which details of manners, dress, and language are accessories, Lyly was writing a conduct-book in which "manners make the man." In the practical quality of his didacticism Lyly closely resembles Richardson.

It does not follow that the latter was familiar with the *Euphues*; in fact, it is unlikely, for by 1740 Lyly's work was almost forgotten, only one edition, and that moralized and abridged, being printed between 1637 and the publication of *Pamela*.<sup>46</sup> The very features which gave it such a vogue at

<sup>43</sup> *The Works of John Lyly*. Ed. W. Bond, vol. i.

<sup>44</sup> Jusserand, *The Eng. Nov.*, p. 123 sq.

<sup>45</sup> Robt. P. Utter, *Studies in the Origin of the English Novel*. Harvard Dissertation, 1906. Unprinted. See also, "Source of Euphues; the anatomy of Wyt," by S. L. Wolff in *Mod. Philol.*, 7, 577-85, April, 1910.

<sup>46</sup> Jusserand, *Ibid.*, p. 123, makes much of the 1716 edition in this connection, but it is doubtful if it greatly influenced Richardson twenty-four years later.

the time of its publication were of a transitory nature, for only so long as the behavior and conversation of Euphues and Philautus were fashionable was it in demand. And although it continued to be reprinted until the outbreak of the Civil War, it had ceased to be authoritative long before 1625, when Henrietta Maria made French etiquette supreme at the court. Greene,<sup>47</sup> Lodge, Munday and other Elizabethans, simplified and condensed the material, increased the number of incidents, and exaggerated the striking and superficial features of the style. These narratives, after a brief vogue, enjoyed popular favor as chapbooks<sup>47a</sup> before dropping into oblivion. In short, the situation parallels that of the *Arcadia* and the heroic romances: we have in embryo, characteristics and tendencies which we find later in the idealistic novel of manners of the eighteenth century, and yet there is no ground for supposing that the latter developed from the former. There is, however, this difference between the two cases; the novel of Richardson was not perfected in France and then translated, but developed in England, under conditions which made possible the combining of the realistic material of the chap-book and drama with the conduct book and romance tradition.

#### POLITICAL AND ALLEGORICAL ROMANCES<sup>48</sup>

Political and allegorical romances were popular with the educated throughout the seventeenth century, particularly so during the first sixty years, when the country was in a state of political and social unrest. From the point of view of the literary historian they are unimportant, since they mark the adoption of the romance form for purposes of satire and propaganda rather than any legitimate development. All the works

<sup>47</sup> For an admirable study of Greene, see "Robert Greene and the Italian Renaissance," by S. L. Wolff, *Englische Studien*, for 1907, xxxvii. 321-74.

<sup>47a</sup> *Pandosto* by Greene (1588) was printed in 1614, 1648, 1677, 1688, 1696, 1703; *Ciceronis Amor* by Greene (1596), in 1606, 1607, 1611, 1616, 1628, 1639; *Arbusto* by Greene (1584), in 1626; *Rosalynde* by Lodge (1590), in 1592, 1598, 1607, 1609, 1612, 1623, 1634, 1642.

<sup>48</sup> For more detailed discussion see Begley, *Nova Solyma*, ii, pp. 366-400. *Ideal Empires and Republics* (Universal Classics Library, 1901), contains the *Utopia* and *New Atlantis* with an introduction by C. M. Andrews.

with which we are concerned in this cursory survey fall into one of two groups: ideal commonwealths (of which the "voyage imaginaire" is a variety) and allegories.

The ideal commonwealths, with their various theories for benefiting mankind, belong more properly to the history of political theory than to that of prose fiction, since, in most instances, there is no plot, no love theme, no characterization, and little action. As the name implies, these romances, like the pastorals, depicted ideal conditions, but unlike the pastorals, were concerned with the theories of government, religion, and industry, which it was assumed would eliminate injustice, impiety, poverty, and all other evils. By depicting the happiness of people living under the proposed conditions, the authors sought to bring about certain reforms or to abolish abuses. Unfortunately, the writers too often resorted to satire and to minute description of vice. After the Restoration, the form was utilized in such compilations of scandal as Mrs. Manley's *Memoirs of Some Persons of Both Sexes, from the New Atalantis* and Mrs. Haywood's *Memoirs of an Island Adjacent to Utopia*.

The earliest, the best, and always the most popular ideal commonwealth of English authorship, is the *Utopia* of Sir Thomas More. The original Latin edition appeared in 1518,<sup>49</sup> and in 1551, Ralph Robinson turned it into the vernacular. The earliest imitation by an English writer seems to have been the *Mundus Alter et Idem*,<sup>50</sup> attributed to Joseph Hall, which, although entered on the *Stationers' Register* as early as 1605, did not appear until 1607. It is an inferior Latin work, describing in satirical vein and in the mediaeval man-

<sup>49</sup> It was reprinted in that language, if we include the continental editions, at least eleven times by 1700. In 1551, it was translated into English by Ralph Robinson and reprinted in the vernacular three times—1597, 1624, 1639—besides which it was turned into German, French, Dutch and Italian, provoking imitations in those countries, which in turn made their way into England.

<sup>50</sup> *Mundus alter et idem sive Terra Australis ante hac semper incognita longis itineribus peregrini Academici nuperrime illustrata. Auth. Mercurio Britanico, 2 eds., Hanover and Frankfurt, 1607.* There was a German translation in 1613. Cf. Begley, *Nova Solyma*, iii. 389.

ner the countries of "Crapulia," "Viraginia," "Lavernia," and the like. It enjoyed considerable favor and, in 1609, was translated as *The Discovery of a Newe World, or, a description of the South Indies; hitherto unknown. By an English Mercury.* The title reflects the influence of the books of travel and discovery, then so numerous. Imitations were coarser and more satirical than the original. *Psittacorum Regio. The Land of Parrots or the Shetlands, with a description of other strange adjacent countries in the Dominions of the Prince de l'Amour* (1669), *The Travels of Don Francisco de Quevedo through Terra Australis Incognita, discovering the Laws, Customs . . . of the South Indians* (1684), and *The Island of Content; or a new Paradise discovered* (1709) describe lands of license much in the manner of Hall. Superior to Hall's work and more in the spirit of More, are the *New Atlantis* by Sir Francis Bacon, which was not published until 1627, and the *Commonwealth of Oceana*<sup>51</sup> by James Harrington (1657). The former which, like most of these romances is in the autobiographic form, starts out almost as promisingly as *Pilgrim's Progress*, and for a little while, the narrative, with its exact record of the ship's adventures "after they sailed from Peru," holds the attention, but all too soon, it is submerged by the lengthy descriptions of the institutions and customs of the imaginary commonwealth. Together with various continuations, the *New Atlantis* was printed in 1660, 1670, 1676, and 1702, and very probably suggested to Mrs. Manley the title for her *Memoirs of some Persons of both Sexes, from the New Atalantis* which appeared in 1709. Decidedly more diverting is the *Man in the Moone*, by Domingo Gonsales,<sup>52</sup> which appeared

<sup>51</sup> The *Oceana* sets forth the scheme of government Harrington and his party hoped to see adopted in England at the time of Cromwell's death and is far too practical to be regarded as a Utopia and too lacking in narrative interest to be classed as a romance.

<sup>52</sup> I. e., Francis Godwin, Bishop of Llandaff and later of Hereford. The work was not published until five years after the author's death and then pseudonymously. In 1657, it was reprinted and again in 1768, while it supplied Bishop Wilkins with his title *Discovery of a New World in the Moon*, and Burton (Nathaniel Crouch), with much of the material for *The English Acquisitions of Guinea and East India* (1728). (See *supra*, p. 4.)

in London in 1638, in 1657, and again in 1728. It contains, according to Begley, a good deal of picaresque material and is a predecessor of *Robinson Crusoe* in having the hero and his man wrecked on an uninhabited island. To this work Cyrano de Bergerac is indebted for some of the devices and material in *The Comical History of the States of the Moon and the Sun*, which romance, translated in 1687, directly influenced Defoe in the *Consolidator* (1705) and Swift in *Gulliver's Travels* (1726). The last-mentioned work far surpasses all the romances we have been considering in narrative skill, vivid description, keen characterization, and excellence of literary style, but it is so permeated by a satiric and unromantic spirit, and in the method of presentation it is so closely affiliated with the realistic pseudo-voyages that it can scarcely be regarded as a representative ideal commonwealth.

*Gulliver's Travels*<sup>52a</sup> belongs primarily to the province of satire. To quote Sir Walter Scott: "No word drops from Gulliver's pen in vain. Where his work ceases for a moment to satirize the vices of mankind in general, it becomes a stricture upon the parties, politics, and courts of Britain; where it abandons that subject of censure, it presents a lively picture of the vices and follies of the fashionable world, or of the vain pursuits of philosophy, while the parts of the narrative which refer to the traveler's own adventures form a humorous and striking parody of the manners of old voyagers, their dry and minute style, and the unimportant personal incidents with which their journals are incumbered." Yet so skilfully is the satire woven into the warp and woof of the narrative, that it never obtrudes or hinders the action, so that, as we all know, children enjoy the "story" without being aware of any ulterior purpose. The incidents follow one another in rapid succession, while the minute detail, arithmetical accuracy, unfailing consistency, and homely comparisons with which Lilliput, Brobdingnag, and to a less extent, Laputa and the Coun-

<sup>52a</sup> *Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World. In four parts. By Lemuel Gulliver, first a surgeon and then a captain of several ships. 2 vols., 1726.*

*The Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Sir Walter Scott.

try of the Houyhnhnms, are described, make them as convincingly real as Crusoe's island. The illusion of truth thus created, is enhanced by the fortuitous unity of the memoir structure and the substantiality of Gulliver's character. The style, too, straight-forward, and plausibly circumstantial, as becomes a matter-of-fact ship's surgeon, conduces to the deception. But although the style is as plain and clear as that of Defoe or Bunyan, it is less simple, less colloquial, more concise and nervous, and enlivened by stinging sarcasm; in a word, it is more literary.

Of Swift's other works, the *Tale of a Tub*<sup>52b</sup> is the only one that can fairly be called a narration. Like *Gulliver's Travels* it is a vehicle for satire, in this instance not so much of all mankind as of the three representative Christian Churches: Catholic, Calvinistic, and Lutheran. As a satire, it is perhaps unexcelled, but as a narrative it is less good. The tale of the three brothers is told as plausibly, as rapidly, and as audaciously as are the adventures of Gulliver, but the incidents are inherently less interesting. The style is remarkable for its brilliance and extravagance. Some of the best passages occur in the digressions which Swift inserted, much in the manner of Scarron and Fielding, but managed far more cleverly than either. The features that characterize the *Tale of a Tub* and *Gulliver's Travels*—the genius for narration, for seizing dramatic possibilities, for keen characterization, and for descriptive phrase—are prominent in the *Battle of the Books*, the *Journal to Stella*, in the vivid, if not very refined, *Polite Conversation*,<sup>52c</sup> and in the many anecdotes and narrative passages scattered through his other works. Yet master narrator that he was, Swift's influence on prose fiction was not great. He perfected for satiric ends the various devices and suggestions he found in the mediocre productions of his predecessors, but he contributed to his successors neither new material nor new devices. His imitators are to be found among the satirists rather than among the novelists. As *Pilgrim's*

<sup>52b</sup> *A Tale of a Tub . . . with an Account of a Battle between the Ancient and Modern Books in St. James's Library.* London, 1704.

<sup>52c</sup> *Polite Conversation in Three Dialogues*, 1738.

*Progress* is to be regarded primarily as the culmination of the religious allegory, so *Gulliver's Travels* is to be regarded as the culmination of the satirical "voyage imaginaire," rather than as one of the sources of the novel.

On the whole, writers of fiction are not very largely indebted to the ideal commonwealths.<sup>53</sup> From them, no doubt, they learned much of the art of matter-of-fact description, especially that trick, if it may be so styled, of giving the semblance of reality by an abundance of minute and consistent detail. To them, we are also indebted, in part at least, for the perfection of two devices which were much used about the close of the century; namely, the foreign observer and the "voyage imaginaire," one of which the author invariably used to account for his knowledge of the remarkable country. The first is the less common in the romances but was later exploited in satires such as *The Turkish Spy*<sup>54</sup> (1698), the *London Spy* (1703-08), and Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World* (1760). The "voyage imaginaire," with its initial shipwreck, was the ordinary opening, and is the basis of the Robinsoniad.

The allegorical romances, by combining all the characteristics of the Greek and chivalric romances with the additional attraction of having some or all of the characters and episodes represent prominent personages, countries, or political events made a high bid for favor. This sort of romance was practically invented by John Barclay<sup>54a</sup> in his learned Latin fiction

<sup>53</sup> In addition there were a number of insignificant romances, such as the *Kingdom of Macaria* (1641) by Samuel Hartlib, advocating agricultural reforms; *Olbia, a new Island* (1660) by John Saddler, a cabalistic treatise; and the *Blazing World* (1668) by the Duchess of Newcastle, dealing with the wonders and possibilities of science. The currency of cabalistic doctrine is attested by a rather clever burlesque called *The Count of Gabalis; or the Secrets of the Cabalists*, which came out in 1680 and is included in *Mod. Nov.*, vol. ii. This is a translation by P. Ayres of *Le Comte de Gabalis* (Paris, 1670) by the Abbé Montfaucon de Villars. Dunlop, ii. p. 540, mentions only the translation of 1714.

<sup>54</sup> *Intra*, p. 106, n.

<sup>54a</sup> John Barclay (1528-1621), son of William Barclay of Aberdeenshire, was born at Pont-a-Mousson and brought up in France. In 1605, he visited England, where he remained ten years. For some time he lived in France, but his later years were passed in Rome. Under the pseudonym of Euphormio

*Argenis* (1621).<sup>55</sup> Allegory was nothing new in fiction, for it played a prominent part in *Diana*, *Astrée* and similar romances. But Barclay extended it from the social life of some special group to the political and social life of all Europe, merely centering the interest upon his own country, France. ‘Some events and personages,’ says the translator, ‘are certain and easily unmasked, others are uncertain, betwixt and between, as it were, and others are purely imaginary. Of the first group is Poliarchus, whom we know for certain to be Henry IV of France; of the second is Hyamsbe, supposed to be Elizabeth of England; of the third is Argenis and the ladies of the Court.’

The plot centers around the love of Poliarchus for Argenis. It is a typical Greek story of imprisoned princesses, shipwrecked nobles, gallant pirates, and innumerable rivals. Interspersed are sundry discourses, such as the “Ability of some Men,” “A Discourse of a Theefe,” “Discourse on Lawyers, Counselors and Advocates,” a “Discourse of Madness,” and on “Tribute and Impositions of Kings on their Subjects,” as well as comic scenes in which the peasants play a prominent part. Thus we have an erotic romance of the Greek type, bearing an acknowledged relation to actuality and introducing, in the discourse on thieves and the comic scenes from low life, the stock material of realistic fiction.

The vogue of the *Argenis* was tremendous. In England, with which alone we are concerned, although a Latin edition was entered on the *Stationers' Register* in 1622 and a translation by Ben Jonson for Blount, in 1623, the earliest extant edition is the translation by Kingesmill Long, which appeared in

Lusinius, Barclay wrote a Petronian satire, called the *Satyricon*, against the machinations of the Jesuits. It appeared in three instalments (1603, 1605 and 1614), the last of which, *Icon Animorum*, somewhat resembles the contemporary rogue stories. He also wrote an *Apologia* for this satire, some Latin verses, and, later in life, controversial pamphlets in favor of the Catholic Church.—Cf. R. Garnett, *D. N. B.*

<sup>55</sup> The idea of the romance may have been suggested by the *Cyropaedia* of Xenophon, as it is often stated, but there is no striking likeness between the *Argenis* and the Greek work or any of the numerous political romances then current.

1625. Long's translation was followed by another version, that of Sir Robert Le Grys in 1629, and by reprints, condensations and continuations in 1635, 1639, 1669 and 1674. In 1772, it was retranslated and highly praised by Clara Reeve and as late as 1803, Coleridge referred to it in laudatory terms.<sup>56</sup> In France, the *Argenis* was followed by the almost equally famous *Endymion* of Gombauld which never acquired popularity in England. There were a few amateurish imitations in English, but the heavy Latinized style deemed essential for a serious romance, so overwhelmed the authors that they failed to make clear either the plot or the allegory. Moreover, as these imitations were, in nearly all instances, written after the appearance of the heroic romances, the writers were further hampered by trying to incorporate the most prominent features of the latter. First to appear was the *Icaria* of John Bissell<sup>57</sup> in 1637, a tiny Latin tome concerned with religious matters and not bearing much similarity to the *Argenis*. *Cloria and Narcissus* by "an Honourable Personage" appeared in three installments, in 1653, 1654, 1655, and as a whole, in 1661, so that there must have been a continued interest on the part of the public. But taste has changed since then, and we find the endless loves of Cloria, Narcissus, and their innumerable friends and enemies, tedious beyond endurance, and the allegory, with its possible references to the wanderings of Charles II, a matter for conjecture. In 1659, an anonymous writer produced *Panthalia, a Royal Romance*, in which Charicles (Charles II) wins Panthalia (England) from the villain Cromwell. In 1648, appeared *Nova Solyma*, a quaint medley of romance, allegory, and ideal commonwealth in pedantic Latin, which was first translated and presented to the world as the work of John Milton<sup>58</sup> by W. Begley in 1902.

<sup>56</sup> "Notes on Barclay's 'Argenis,'" 1803, *Works*, ed. Shedd, vii. 376.

<sup>57</sup> Of "John Bissell of the Jesuits," little is known. In addition to the *Icaria* he wrote, also in Latin, an account of the Jesuit missionaries under the title *Argonauticon Americanorum sive Historia Periculorum Petri de Victoria*, 1647.

<sup>58</sup> In "Nova Solyma; a romance attributed to John Milton," in *Mod. Philol.* for April, 1904, i. 525, Dr. W. A. Neilson refutes Mr. Begley's arguments in detail and discusses the romance at some length.

*The Flower of Fidelitie* (1650) by John Reynolds<sup>59</sup> harks back in style to the *Euphues* and the *Arcadia*, but suggests even more, to compare small things with great, the *Faerie Queene*. Three princes wander through the deserts and forests of Africa in search of adventure, and finally, after rescuing many distressed damsels, overcoming many monsters, and withstanding the temptations of the bower of bliss, win three incomparable princesses and return to their homes, where they live righteously and rule wisely for many years. The *Flower* was reprinted several times but never enjoyed the popularity of the author's *God's Revenge against Murder*, a collection of tragic tales which Gildon groups with *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Robinson Crusoe* among the possessions of "every old woman."

The *Aretina* (1660) of Sir George Mackenzie is a much closer copy of the *Argenis*. The author, in a rather diverting preface, apologized for romances on the well-known plea that the story was but a means for inculcating moral precepts, "the sugar coating of the pill." This led him to an examination of the romances of his day which, in his opinion, failed, either, because, like the old romances of Amadis and Palmeryn they were "stuffed with things impracticable," or because, like the later works of Scudéry, they were written in a "too soaring style." Both of these faults Mackenzie promised to avoid, but the reader will find the combats, the tourneys, the travels, and the loves of Monanthropus, Megistus, Ophni, and Aretina as improbable and bewildering as those of Amadis or Polexandre, and the style no nearer simplicity. The brief

<sup>59</sup>John Reynolds, who flourished between 1620 and 1640, travelled extensively in France. In 1621 he published the first part of *The Triumphs of God's Revenge against the crying and execrable sinne of (Wilfull and Pre-meditated) Murther*, a collection of tales translated from the French, and in 1635 issued the complete six parts comprising "thirty tragical histories," in which form it was often reprinted. *The Flower of Fidelitie*, which he first published in 1650, is generally described as an Arcadian imitation, but I imagine Reynolds in this, as in his other works, was drawing from French sources. It was later called *The Garden of Love and Royal Flowers of Fidelity*, under which title the fourth edition appeared in 1692 and the seventh in 1721. He also translated *A Treatise of the Court* from the French of E. de Refuge, and *The Judgement of Humane Actions* from the French of L. de Marande. Cf. D. N. B.

tales or novels which Mackenzie, in imitation of the *Argenis*, interspersed through his romances, while not possessing much originality or merit, are the most interesting portions of *Aretina*. The allegory is difficult to trace, but in one of the numerous essays which the author "laced upon his romance," he explained that it referred to the relations between England and Scotland. *Bentivolio and Urania*, a religious romance by Nathaniel Ingelo, also appeared in 1660. It was reprinted in 1668, 1673, and 1684, the last time with a much needed gloss for recondite words and phrases. The mention of religious allegories at once suggests *Pilgrim's Progress*, but this is to be associated with the chapbooks and hornlies and not with the literary romances.

On the whole, the political and allegorical romances, with the exception of the *Utopia*, the *New Atlantis*, *Gulliver's Travels*, and the *Argenis*, have no literary value, and the last possesses little vital interest. Nevertheless, as a class they were not without an influence on later fiction. In the first place, they made the element of actuality important, for unless the relation to contemporary manners and conditions was clear, the allegory and the satire lost all point, and in the second place, they were instrumental in the perfecting of two important devices, the "voyage imaginaire" and the foreign observer.

#### THE HEROIC ROMANCES<sup>60</sup>

All the romances of the seventeenth century are commonly styled "heroic," but speaking more strictly, the term should be confined to those narratives informed with the "heroic temper," that is to say, those in which the characters and events are idealized on a large scale, or, to quote Dryden, "the images and action are raised above the life."<sup>61</sup> The most perfect examples are the well-known works of La Calprenède and the Scudéry,

<sup>60</sup> For further discussion see: P. H. Koerting, *Geschichte des Französischen Romans im XVII Jahrhundert*, A. Le Breton, *Le Roman au dix-septième siècle*, Thos. F. Crane, *Les Héros de Roman. Introduction, La Société Française du dix-septième siècle*, and M. F. von Waldberg, *Der empfindsame Roman in Frankreich*.

<sup>61</sup> J. Dryden, *Essay on Heroic Plays*, ed. W. P. Ker, i. 48.

which afford the best means of studying the type. Any detailed account of the origin of the heroic romances or any analysis of particular works is unnecessary, but a slight knowledge of their history is practically essential for a proper understanding of their characteristics and of their significance in the development of the modern novel.

According to Professor Koerting, the heroic romance passed through three stages. The foundation was the *Astrée* (c. 1610-1627) of Honoré d'Urfé written somewhat after the manner of Montemayor, and combining, like *Diana*, elements from the Greek, chivalric and pastoral romances, ideals of conduct derived from Castiglione, and a more or less vague allegory of the social life at court. It somewhat resembles the *Arcadìa*, but has a larger pastoral element and is more elaborate and carefully wrought.<sup>52</sup> Then came Gomberville's *Polexandre* (1637), which Professor Koerting regards as the first genuine heroic romance. Gomberville rejected most of the pastoral material and much of the delicate sentiment, substituting in their stead wanderings in strange countries and a spirit of braggadocio. He followed the Greek structure and utilized its devices, but otherwise his romance, with its *hero of virtu* struggling for love and glory, is in the manner and spirit of *Amadis*. The second and final step in the perfecting of the genre was taken by La Calprenède, who combined all the features of the courtly *Astrée* with the heroic adventures of *Polexandre*, and utilized as a setting, the glamour-covered ages of classical and mediæval antiquity. His *Cassandra* (c. 1647), *Cléopâtre* (c. 1648), and *Pharamond* (c. 1658), Koerting ranks as the most perfect examples of the heroic romance. With the works of the Scudérys began the period of decadence. The *Grand Cyrus* (c. 1649), *Almahide* (c. 1652), and *Clélie* (c. 1656) differ little from the romances of La Calprenède, but the over-refinement of sentiment and style, the far-fetched political allusions, the long interspersed essays, and the close representations of the salons of the précieuses, under the thin veil of romance, made them an easy subject for ridicule.

<sup>52</sup> The *Astrée* combines practically all the elements in the different types of narratives. Cf. Reynier, *Le Roman Sentimental avant L'Astrée*, p. 150 sq.

With the actual content of the romances—the pseudo-history, the episodes, the actual personages concealed under the feigned names—we are not concerned, since we are regarding them solely with respect to the English development. From this point of view, there are five important features: first, the recognition of the romance as a dignified literary form with classical models from which rules could be drawn; second, the derivation from those models of certain canons, some of which have influenced fiction to the present day; third, the creation of a type of hero and heroine which, with slight modifications, is with us still; fourth, the predominance given to sentiment; and fifth and last, the emphasis laid upon a pure, moral story as well as on a didactic purpose. Each of these requires a word of explanation.

The new respect with which romances were regarded was due partly to the prevailing taste for prose fiction, partly to the social and literary prestige of the authors and of the *Hôtel de Rambouillet*, under the auspices of which the heroic romances were written, and partly to the esteem accorded to the Greek romances, as works of the "ancients." D'Urfé, La Calprenède and Mlle. de Scudéry<sup>63</sup> all consciously patterned their romances after Heliodorus, whom they regarded in much the same light as the playwrights regarded Seneca. And much as the dramatists, both consciously and unconsciously, utilized the indigenous material, the writers of prose narratives incorporated elements from the chivalric stories and the romantic epics. Be it noted in this connection, that little distinction was drawn between prose and poetry, a fact which accounts for much extravagance. Bishop Huet<sup>64</sup> regarded the

<sup>63</sup> "J'ai pris et je prendray toujours pour mes uniques modèles l'immortel Héliodore et le Grand Urfey. Ce sont les seuls maîtres que j'imiter et les seuls qu'il faut imiter." Mlle. de Scudéry, Introduction to *Cyrus*.

"Héliodore l'a surpassé dans la disposition du sujet, comme en tout le reste." Huet, *L'Origine des Romans*, p. 380.

<sup>64</sup> Huet, *L'Origine des Romans*, p. 348, "Ce que l'on appelle proprement romans, sont des histoires feintes d'aventures amoureuses, écrites en prose avec art, pour le plaisir et l'instruction des lecteurs. Je dis des histoires feintes, pour les distinguer des histoires véritables. J'ajoute d'aventures amoureuses, parceque l'amour doit être le principal sujet du roman. Il faut

use of prose or poetry as a matter of fashion. "Heywood,"<sup>65</sup> in translating Biondi's *Eromena*, writes of "Heliodorian poesie"; Dryden, in discussing the heroic plays which were based on the French romances, discusses the laws of an "heroic poem"; and the *Pharonnida*, an epic poem by Chamberlayne, was turned into prose under the title *Eromena or the Noble Stranger* (1683). The distinction between prose and verse narrative was not made until the rise of the realistic story at the end of the century, and in fact the confusion lasted down to the time of Scott.

From the Greek romances, as has been said, were derived the canons according to which the later works were constructed. They are admirably stated by Bishop Huet. First, he laid down the law, which has since become an axiom, that "love is the principal subject of romance"; second, that the "history" must be feigned, not real, a rule to which little attention was paid by realists of the next generation, but which was later accepted; third, that the purpose is to teach the principles of right living by rewarding virtue and punishing vice; and fourth, that the presentation of the fable must follow certain rules. These rules merely summed up the Greek method for attaining surprise, suspense, etc., and fell into oblivion with the heroic romances.

The most important deviation from the Greek romances was in the matter of the hero and heroine. The passive Greek hero, devoted solely to love, did not conform to the Western ideal, and on the other hand, the chivalric hero was devoted too exclusively to military fame; so a compromise was effected by

qu'elles soient écrites en prose, pour être conformes à l'usage de ce siècle ; il faut qu'elles soient écrites avec art et sous de certaines règles, autrement ce sera un amas confus, sans ordre et sans beauté. La fin principale des romans, ou du moins celle qui le doit être, et que se doivent proposer ceux qui les composent, est l'instruction des lecteurs, à qui il faut toujours faire voir la vertu couronnée et le vice puni" (page 348).

"Les romans, au contraire, ont l'amour pour sujet principal et ne traitent la politique et la guerre que par incident. Je parle des romans réguliers ; car la pluspart des vieux romans . . . sont bien moins amoureux que militaires," p. 350.

<sup>65</sup> See bibliography under *Eromena*, 1632.

making love and ambition two master-passions. In all probability, the hero was evolved from the *Courtier* of Castiglione, for it needed but a theatrical setting to make a "Cyrus" of that paragon. The heroine presents the companion picture of the "great lady," charming all with her wit, her beauty, and her "becoming attire." She does little, but being sensitive to a degree, suffers much, and enjoys nothing more than describing her every emotion. A drop in the social scale, and we have the insipid parlor heroes and tearful heroines of the eighteenth century.

The presence of realism and sentiment in the heroic romances is often overlooked, because the language in which it is expressed is so affected, and the point of view so intellectual. As a matter of fact, there are many subtle bits of characterization, numerous examples of sound psychology, and sympathetic, as well as minute, analyses of passion. The long "portraits" were drawn from the life and immediately recognized by contemporaries.<sup>66</sup> We find the hysterical outbursts, the tears, the self-pity, the love of melancholy, and the cult of solitude which we associate with the sentimentalism of Rousseau,<sup>67</sup> but always with this difference, that in the romances, conduct, if not the heart, is invariably controlled by the head. No matter what the emergency, you may depend upon the hero to show a judgment "natural and proper," and the heroine never to sin against the social code. The inculcation of virtue and propriety was, in these French romances as in the Richardsonian novels, a primary object with the authors. In this emphasis upon the moral purpose there is nothing essentially new—Lylly, Nash and the later Italian novelists, for example, had stressed the didactic element—but a certain significance is derived from the fact that during the reign of Restoration license, these romances not only asserted that "virtue is rewarded and vice punished," but were themselves pure in thought and phrase.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Cf. V. Cousin, *La Société française au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Waldberg, *Der empfindsame Roman in Frankreich*.

<sup>68</sup> Mrs. Barker in the introduction to *Exilius* (1715), and again in the *Lining of the Patchwork-Screen* (1725), makes much of the edifying features of the romances. See *infra*, p. 144 sq.

Such were the celebrated heroic romances which made their way into England during the Protectorate and were at the height of fashion, to judge by the translations, during the reign of Charles II. They were, in all probability, well-known before the English versions appeared, for the aristocracy, to whom these romances appealed, were as familiar with French as with English, and furthermore, the country gentry and circles like those of the "matchless Orinda" and the Duchess of Newcastle, prided themselves upon reading the original.<sup>69</sup> The translations were of two sorts; literary exercises by noble aspirants for fame, and redactions made for the bourgeoisie by publishers' hacks and indigent "persons of quality." In both cases the text was often condensed. According to M. Charlanne, *Polexandre* was reduced by three books, and the prefaces and epistles in which La Calprenède and Mlle. de Scudéry aired their theories were ruthlessly cut out, so that in the words of the same authority, the story stood "bare and dry without ornament of any kind."<sup>70</sup> The style, too, was often so execrable that Dorothy Osborne's scathing criticism<sup>71</sup> was quite justified.

"I have no patience neither, for these translations of romances. I met with *Polexander* and *L'illustre Bassa* both so disguised that I, who am their old acquaintance, hardly knew them; besides that, they are still so much French in words and phrases that 'twas impossible for one that understands not French to make anything of them. If poor Prazimene be in the same dress, I would not see her for the world.... Is it not my Lord Monmouth or some such formidable person that gives her to the world?"

Poor as they were, however, the translations were widely read. To William Browne belongs the honor of first introducing these romances into English with his version of Gomberville's *Polexandre* in 1647. Five years elapsed before any further translations appeared, then in 1652, came Loveday's version of the first part of *Cléopâtre* under the title of *Hymen's Praecludia, or Love's Masterpiece*, parts two to seven came

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Charlanne, *L'Influence Française en Angleterre au XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, and Upham, *The French Influence in English Literature*.

<sup>70</sup> Charlanne, *Ibid.*, p. 380.

<sup>71</sup> *Letters from Dorothy Osborne to Sir William Temple*, ed. E. A. Parry, London, 1888, pp. 160-61.

out the ensuing year, but parts seven and eight not till 1658, the three remaining parts not till 1665, and the whole was not printed together till 1671. In 1652, there also appeared translations of *Ibrahim* and of *Cassander, King of Macedon*, elegantly rendered into English by an Honourable Personage, of which a better known version, by Sir Charles Cotterel, the friend of the "matchless Orinda," is dated 1661. *Artamène, or Le Grand Cyrus* followed in 1653, and we find it advertised in the *Term Catalogues* for 1691. Three years later, in 1656, appeared *Cleila, a Historic Romance* rendered by Davies and Havers. In 1660, was printed Pierre de Hortigue's *Scipion*, and in 1677, John Phillips, Milton's nephew, performed the feat of translating both the *Almahide* and *Pharamond*. In addition to these long romances, there were heroic conversations and harangues of which the most famous are those of Mlle. Scudéry;<sup>72</sup> and short romances, which on the score of their brevity, were often styled "novels." Such, for example, are *Fatal Prudence, or, Democrates, the Unfortunate Hero* (1679), *Meroveus, Son of Chilperic I.* (1682), and *Ildegerete, Queen of Norway* (1721). The last two are decidedly above the average in the conception of the plot and in the delineation of character. The women are remarkably strong, and, although possessing none of the Greek heroines' subtlety of intellect, are the leaders in council and in action.

Numerous imitations were to be expected, and it is therefore surprising that not more than half a dozen English romances can be so classed: *Eromena, or, The Noble Stranger*, founded on Chamberlayne's *Pharonnida* (1683); *Cloria and Narcissus* (1633-54-55-61); *Parthenissa* (1654-69); *Panthalia* (1659); *Birinthia* (1664); *Aretina* (1661); *Pandion and Amphigenia* (1665); *Celenia* (1723). Of these, *Cloria*, *Panthalia*, and *Aretina* are political allegories as well, and have been discussed under that category; while *Pandion*, not being markedly "heroic," belongs rather with the miscellaneous romances. Of the remaining works, *Parthenissa* alone attained

<sup>72</sup> *A Triumphant Arch, erected and consecrated to the Glory of the Feminine Sex*, translated by "J. B.", 1654, and *The Female Orator, or the Courage and Constancy of Women*, trs. 1713.

any celebrity, a success due more to the prominence of the author, Roger Boyle, better known as Lord Broghill, than to the merits of the romance. The curious who would like to know more in detail the content and structure of these folio romances with which noble ladies whiled away their long leisure hours, will find a full summary of *Parthenissa* in Appendix A. As for criticism, we can do no better than to quote that of Boyle's contemporary, Dorothy Osborne.<sup>73</sup>

" 'Tis handsome language; you would know it to be writ by a person of good quality though you were not told it; but, on the whole I am not much taken with it. All the stories have too near a resemblance with those of other romances, there is nothing new or 'suprenent' in them; the ladies are all so kind they make no sport. . . . Another fault I find, too, in the style—'tis affected. 'Ambitioned' is a great word with him, and 'ignore'; my 'concern,' or 'of great concern', it seems is properer than concernment; and though he makes his people say handsome things to one another, yet they are not easy and 'naïve' like the French, and there is a little harshness in most of the discourse that one would take to be a fault of a translator rather than of an author. But perhaps I like it the worse for having a piece of the 'Cyrus' by me that I am hugely pleased with."

*Eromena* is less heroic and in many ways is closely modelled on the French erotic romances, yet there is a deliberate attempt to "raise the characters above the life," and to expound royalist doctrines. The plot of the Spartan lord searching for Eromena is interspersed with much irrelevant matter concerning the Turks and Christians and is hidden in a mass of intricate diction. The language is very figurative, and at its best, as in the description of the heroine's passions as lying "at anchor in the safe haven of serene thoughts,"<sup>74</sup> not without charm; but more often it is strained, as in "Rivers of tears fell from her fair eyes";<sup>75</sup> "Truth and Innocence smelt sweet

<sup>73</sup> *Letters from Dorothy Osborne to Sir William Temple*, ed. E. A. Parry, p. 228.

She also asks if it is true "that Waller is writing a romance concerning the Civil Wars, and Lord Saye a something!" No such works are known. Monmouth translated (1641-46) Biondi's *History of the English Civil Wars*, i. e., Wars of the Roses. Possibly rumor confused this with a romance contemplated by Waller.

<sup>74</sup> *Eromena; or, the Noble Stranger*. London, 1683, p. 50.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

and grateful in the nostrils of all";<sup>76</sup> "her prayers and shrieks fill all the ambient air."<sup>77</sup>

*Birinthea* is open to even more stringent censure. Although shorter than *Parthenissa*, the loves of Cyraeres, Cyrus, and Birinthea with the interwoven story of Arspe and Panthea, are, if anything, even more bewildering than those of Boyle's characters. With the opening statement that "if the night had not come and surprised them the battle had not been so soon ended," the reader is plunged "in medias res" and is whirled through innumerable battles, duels, shipwrecks, and kidnappings, without discovering what it is all about. *Celenia* is a very inferior piece of work. The characters are still ostensibly on the heroic scale, but their motives are less pure, their ambition less worthy, and the general tone vulgar—it is decidedly the heroic romance in its decadence. Like *Parthenissa* and *Eromena*, it is interspersed with long discourses on government and references to current politics. The presence of allegory and allusions to contemporary persons and events is highly probable in all these romances, for it was a striking feature of the French models. Moreover, Boyle in his dedication to Lady Northumberland, gives us to understand that *Parthenissa* resembles his patroness in so far as his "feeble pen could portray her beauties." But on the other hand, there is no contemporary evidence that personal allusions were intended in any instance, and in the case of *Parthenissa* this is the more remarkable, since Dorothy Osborne, who discussed the romance at length and knew by reputation at least, the society which Boyle frequented, did not so much as hint at such a thing.

The influence of the heroic romances cannot be measured merely by the translations and imitations. They were the inspiration of those literary coteries<sup>78</sup> that surrounded the Duchess of Newcastle and Mrs. Katherine Philips. The members, assuming romantic names with a classical ring, exercised

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Upham, *The French Influence in English Literature*, p. 333 sq., and Gosse, *Seventeenth Century Studies*, p. 206 sq.

their wits in exchanging elegant epistles in the manner of the "matchless Orinda" and Poliarchus (Sir Charles Cotterel). Mrs. Philips herself contributed nothing to prose narrative, but undoubtedly it was under her stimulating influence that Cotterel and Davies made their translations, and that Boyle wrote *Parthenissa*. The Duchess of Newcastle, on the other hand, reflects their influence directly, since, to quote Pepys, "the whole story of this lady is a romance and all she does is romantic." Her narratives however, with the exception of *The Blazing World*, are not romances, so discussion of them will be postponed.<sup>79</sup>

Many plays were founded on episodes in the romances: Dryden's *Conquest of Grenada* was taken from *Almahide*, Bower's *Cyrus the Great* from the romance of that name, and Mrs. Behn's *The Young King* from *Cleopatra*. References to the romances abound in essays and diaries. Addison, in his list of books in "Leonora's Library"<sup>80</sup> mentions: "Cassandra, Cleopatra, Astraea, the Grand Cyrus, with a pin stuck in one of the middle pages, and Clelia which opened of itself in the place that describes two lovers in a bower." Dorothy Osborne has been quoted sufficiently to show how much she enjoyed, and withal, how keenly she criticized the romances. Mrs. Pepys was also partial to them, and from her husband we learn that "she sat up till twelve reading Great Cyrus"<sup>81</sup> and that on another occasion she was greatly troubled by his checking her "In her long stories out of Grand Cyrus, which she would tell, though nothing to the point nor in any good manner."<sup>81</sup> And finally, as late as 1752, they were sufficiently popular to give point to Charlotte Lennox's satire, the *Female Quixote*.

Thus for nearly a hundred years the long French romances of La Calprenède and Mlle. de Scudéry were an important factor in English fiction. Much of the minute analysis of passion, of the conventional didacticism, of the detailed descrip-

<sup>79</sup> *Infra*, p. 128 sq.

<sup>80</sup> *Spectator*, No 37; see also Steele, *The Tender Husband*, 1705.

<sup>81</sup> *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Globe ed., London, 1905, p. 59, entry for Dec. 7, 1660; p. 381, entry for May 12, 1666.

tion of manners and dress, of the reflective sentimentalism, and of the complicated structure so prominent in the works of the eighteenth century, can be traced directly to the heroic romances, "so unreal, so tedious, so patiently wrought."<sup>82</sup>

### MISCELLANEOUS ROMANCES

In addition to the romances we have been considering, there were a large number of short miscellaneous narratives, dealing with material more or less romantic, in a romantic spirit. Some of these were no more than elaborations of episodes in the longer works or modernizations of romantic *novelle*, but others differed materially. In the earlier years, the sixteenth century pastorals, such as the *Diana* of Montemayor, the *Faithful Shepherd* of Guarini, the *Galatea* of Cervantes, and *The Pastorals of Julietta*<sup>83</sup> of Ollenix du Mont-Sacré, enjoyed a mild vogue. They were superseded by short romances in which episodes from Moorish history or wild adventure among the "Moslems" played the most important part. The Moors very early figured in Spanish narratives, but a keener interest was aroused by the romantic *History of the Civil Wars of Granada*<sup>84</sup> which supplied many new incidents and much information about the customs of Moorish life. Writers of fiction were not slow to perceive the picturesque value of the Moorish setting, and we find Mlle. de Scudéry substituting, in *Almahide*, the Conquest of Granada for the wars of classical antiquity. Of the numerous short works dealing with this and other material, it will suffice to mention a few suggestive titles chosen from a list numbering nearly one hundred. Closely modelled after the Greek pattern are

<sup>82</sup> W. Raleigh, *The English Novel*, 1894, p. 105.

<sup>83</sup> *Les Bergeries de Juliette*, 1585-1598, was translated in 1607 as *The Pastorales of Julietta* by Gervase Markham, and again as *Honour's Academy* by Robert Tofte in 1610. The latter is said to bear small resemblance to the original. Cf. Upham, *French Literature in England*, p. 367.

<sup>84</sup> *Historia de las Guerras Civiles de Granada*, presumably the work of Ginés Perez de Hita (c. 1604), free versions of which appeared in France early in the seventeenth century.

*Persiles and Sigismunda* by Cervantes, *Ariana*<sup>85</sup> by Desmarest de Saint-Sorlin, an interesting attempt to set a story in the time of Nero, and the cumbersome *Diane*<sup>86</sup> of Loredano. Of those in which the "Moslems" play a prominent rôle may be mentioned *The Liberal Lover*,<sup>87</sup> by Cervantes, *The Happy Slave*, by Gabriel de Bremond,<sup>88</sup> *The Chaste Seraglian*, and *Ibrahim Bassa of Buda*.

A series of three romances<sup>89</sup> by the Italian Biondi combine a little of this picturesque element with the more salient features of such sentimental romances as *Arnalte and Lucenda*, and at the same time reflect the growing tendency to weight the narrative with sermons and political theory. To how large an extent the feigned personages and didactic purpose had come to be regarded as essential features of the Greek romances, may be inferred from the translator's reference to "Heliodorian poesie" as "that historical way of poetizing or poetical way of historizing or displaying in the fained seeming,

<sup>85</sup> For a full summary and discussion of *Ariana* see the Preface to *Les Heros de Roman*, ed. T. F. Crane, Athenaeum Press, 1907. It was translated in 1634.

<sup>86</sup> Translated in 1654 by Sir Aston Cokain.

<sup>87</sup> This was first translated in 1640.

<sup>88</sup> Gabriel de Bremond occupies such an insignificant place in French literature that little attention has been devoted to him. While still a youth he was forced to seek refuge in Holland and there remained for the rest of his life. His numerous works date between 1676 and 1708. *Hattigé*, appeared in 1676, *Le Galant escroc ou le Faux Comte Brion* in 1677, *Apolo-gie ou les Véritables Mémoires de Madame Marie de Mancini* in 1678, *Mémoirs galants ou les Aventures Amoureuses d'une Personne de Qualité* in 1680, and a version of *Guzman d'Alfarache* in 1695. The *Double Cocu* and the *Heureux Esclave ou les Aventures du Sieur de la Martinière* 1708, are attributed to him. *Grand Dictionnaire Universel du xix siècle*, Larousse. According to the English translations, *The Pilgrim* and the *Perplexed Prince*, are by Bremond.

<sup>89</sup> *Eromena: or Love and Revenge, Donsella Desterrada, or the Banished Virgin, Coralbo, a new romance in three books*, translated in 1632, 1635 and 1655 respectively by (according to Fry) "Jasper Heywood." According to Thompson Cooper, D. N. B., Jasper Heywood died in 1598. It follows that the Jasper Heywood of literary repute could not have translated the romances, and it seems wiser to identify the "J. H." on the title-page with the James Howard to whom Howell wrote a letter on his translation of *Eromena*, Oct. 6, 1632, see *Familiar Letters*, ed. I. Jacobs, I., 329.

unfained adventures and action . . . embellished more frequently with ethicall solidity than superficial rhetorick."

The English with few exceptions confined themselves to translations, or rather redactions, for in many cases they showed considerable originality in deviating from their texts. Decidedly the most delightful variation is the satirical or burlesque version of Voiture's *Alcidalis and Zelide* under the title *Zelinde, an excellent new romance*,<sup>90</sup> which a certain "T.D." claimed to have translated "from the French of M. Scudéry." Such life and vigor has this little piece that M. Jusserand calls it an original anti-romance. Voiture's plot was most ingenious in its extravagance, and "T.D." rendered it in a style worthy of the matter, and further spiced it with critical asides. Thus, for instance, he describes the rage of the cheated duke:

"He beat his head against the ground, tore his hair, and uprooted his comely beard! Let me not lye neither, perhaps beards were as much out of fashion then as now, and I would not have posterity imposed upon in matters of such weight; truth will go through the world."<sup>91</sup>

And again, in calling upon his readers at the close of the volume to conjure up the joy of the united lovers, he exclaims:

"Gentle Reader (I may safely call you so now, for I am sure you are tired as well as I)."<sup>92</sup>

Unfortunately, there were no other "T.D.'s" translating romances. Peter Belon, B. Berenclow, Ferrand Spence and the host of vague "Persons of Quality" were as free from satirical humor as the authors could desire.

A half dozen English romances of this type deserve a word of comment, less on account of their worth than of their rarity. Probably others have been lost, for there are entries in the *Term Catalogues* which suggest this kind of romance. The plots are extravagant, the characters are absolutely colorless, the descriptions ludicrously artificial, the emotional outbursts

<sup>90</sup> Contained in *Mod. Nov.*, vol. vii. Is "T. D." Thomas Durfe? A literal translation is contained in a *Collection of Select Discourses*, 1687.

<sup>91</sup> P. 11.

<sup>92</sup> P. 126.

rhetorical, and the style, the most ornate and fantastic imaginable.

*The Cyprian Academy* (1647), by Robert Baron dedicated to "the Super-eminent Paragon of Art and Literature, the truly noble James Howell"<sup>93</sup> is very short, the three books and the masques at the close of each being comprised within one hundred octavo pages. The loves of Flaminius and Clarinda and of Arabella and Lycidas have their prototypes in such French romances as *Pandion y Yonice* (1599) and *l'Histoire des Amours de Poliphile et de Damis* (1602).<sup>94</sup> *Pandion and Amphigenia; or the Coy Lady of Thessaly* (1666) by John Crowne is longer and shows traces of the heroic element, but is indebted to the *Arcadia* for its "chief beauties." In the diverting preface Crowne, like all the fashionable young writers, informs us that this "trifling product of an idle hour" is indeed "a hospital for lame conceits," but on the other hand he assures us "it is no jay trickt up in others feathers nor pop-injay to parrate others wit." But, alas, scarcely is there an incident or effective passage that cannot be traced to another source! The *Eliana* of John Pordage (1661), judging from the remarks of Dunlop,<sup>95</sup> is a similar piece of fiction.

In all three romances the style is the most striking feature, and probably the greatest pleasure of the readers was derived from the elegance of the diction and the subtlety of the conceits. A person was not killed, but "was sent to fetch an errand in the dust," did not die, but "acted his life's epilogue." It was difficult to maintain the pitch of elegance attained by Crowne in the following quotation; but how ludicrous the effect could be when the author permitted himself to mingle his affected phraseology with colloquial directness is illustrated in the ensuing one from *The Cyprian Academy*.

<sup>93</sup> Robert Baron, famous, or infamous for his plagiarisms, was born c. 1630. He was a student at Cambridge and Gray's Inn. In 1647 he published *'Eporotaryuou: or the Cyprian Academy*, and c. 1650, *Pocula Castalia*, in verse. He was also author of *Mirza: a tragedy*; *Gripus et Hegio*, and *Deorum Dona*. Cf. Joseph Knight, *D. N. B.*

<sup>94</sup> For an account of these French romances see *Le Roman Sentimental avant L'Astrée* by Gustave Reynier, particularly pp. 188 to 198.

<sup>95</sup> Dunlop, *History of Prose Fiction*, ii. 563.

" And further he craved of her, that since it was not her pleasure so much as to imparadise his form in her thoughts (for her eyes were something cast aside upon the wall, showing a lofty kind of humility) but to make an inanimate creature the object of his envy, that yet she would permit his lips as Pilgrims from his heart to sacrifice the pure oblations of his love upon her hand, that pure shrine of pureness, and there to inscribe its image, that the beauties of her hand might challenge remembrance from her thoughts, of the humblest of her servants, and the most passionately devoted to her princely vertues."

" Flaminus saluted him [the knight carrying off the unwilling lady] with this challenge. It sufficeth not that thou hast subdued yonder Petitoes of Mars, and captivated their Lady, Fortune will not sell her at so under a rate, it remaineth that you vanquish me also before you enjoy her, the wager of our contention, in whose defense my sword (blushing at thy impieties) shall strike thy soul to Erebus, and compell thee to garter thy hose with thy guts. The strange Knight coyned this proud reply to this unexpected defy; I conceive it no hard taske to chastise thy insolency, for I take thee for no other than a body animated by a Pythagorean Transmigration, with one of those cowardly souls which I have even now sent to seek new lodgings."

The four other romances we have to consider are products of a later period and reflect the taste for the Spanish setting and complicated intrigue. In *Diana, Duchess of Mantua, or the Persecuted Lover* (1678), R. Carleton reverted to the sentimental romance of the sixteenth century, but unfortunately he adopted the Chinese box system of narration, which makes it impossible to disentangle the story of Diana and Frederick. There are some remarkably good comic scenes, modelled no doubt after those in the *Argenis*. The peasant's account of the murder of the lady whom he found "as dead as a red herring" is in its simple diction, coarse similes and loquacious repetition, very realistic, and contrasts sharply with the rest of the romance. In *Taxila, or Love preferred before Duty* (1692) by "W. D., Gent," the not unusual theme of a persecuted princess refusing the favorite son of her step-mother for a poor courtier is given an oriental setting.

Much more interesting than either *Diana* or *Taxila* is *Cynthia; with the Tragical Loves of Almerin and Desdemona*, advertised in the *Term Catalogues* for May, 1687, as "Done by an English Hand." Evidently it long remained in favor. The undated edition in the Bodleian is called the "eighth,"

and in the late eighteenth century a New England publisher passed it off as an original American production.<sup>96</sup> The Heliodorian story of "Cynthia" is quite subordinated to that of Almerin and Desdemona which is told by Almeryn to Cynthia and her lover, whom he has carried off in one of his piratical expeditions. His story resembles in many ways the Spanish tales of the "cloak and sword" order, especially *The Liberal Lover* of Cervantes. The plot is the usual one of love contrary to the commands of parents, the desertion of the hero and the consequent suicide of the heroine. The use of portents is an interesting feature. For example, the following passage immediately precedes the discovery of the clandestine attachment which resulted in the hero's imprisonment and his consequent desertion of the heroine.

"In my way homeward my spirits began to grow dull and heavy, my mind became sad and melancholy, I found myself fearful, yet knew no cause I had to fear. On the sudden three drops of blood distilled from my nose, a hare thwarted my way, and a night-raven came croaking and with her dismal note hovered over my head. This confirmed me in my augury that something ominous and fatal did attend me."

The *Entertaining History of the Amours and Adventures of Solenus and Perrigonia*, the first story in *The Constant Lovers*,<sup>97</sup> by John Littleton Costeker belongs to the eighteenth century. Perrigonia was brought up by her man-hating father on a desert shore and kept in complete ignorance. When she was about sixteen her father brought home a poor youth whom he intended to kill the ensuing day. Perrigonia took pity on the victim and eloped with him that very night. Shortly thereafter she was separated from her lover and trouble began, for

<sup>96</sup> The Bodleian edition is probably an eighteenth century reprint, for the title-page is typical of that century: *Cynthia; with the Tragical Account of the Unfortunate Loves of Almerin and Desdemona. A Novel. Illustrated with a Variety of the Chances of Fortune: moralized with many useful Observations. Done by an English hand.*

The American edition, of 1798, is mentioned by Miss L. D. Loshe in *The Early American Novel*, New York, 1907, p. 17, n.

<sup>97</sup> *The Constant Lovers; being an entertaining history of the amours and adventures of Solenus and Perrigonia, Alexis and Sylvia. By John Littleton Costeker. London, 1731.*

to poor Perrigonia, who had "never seen mortal other than her father and lover," all cavaliers looked alike, and she became involved with numberless admirers. All sorts of difficulties arose from her general state of ignorance and "innocence." This very curious little romance was probably intended to satirize the current views of the charms and advantages of the "state of nature."

In 1680, romances were no longer fashionable, yet for years inferior works of this general type were written. Such eighteenth century writers as Mrs. Rowe, Mrs. Barker, and even Mrs. Haywood, took occasion to praise the purity of the purpose and ideals of the romances as opposed to the lewd novels of their own day. Mrs. Barker, in her endeavor to restore the romance to its old prestige, herself contributed several mediocre examples.<sup>98</sup> But the day of the affected court romances had passed—the new generation demanded not less sentimentalism or romanticism, but a closer reproduction of actuality.

#### THE "ANTI-ROMANCES"

The "anti-romances" form a large and heterogeneous group, which for purposes of discussion, it seems wise to limit, somewhat arbitrarily, to those narratives animated by a consciously anti-idealistic and anti-romantic spirit, thus excluding that large group of narratives which though essentially realistic are not satires of the romantic form or spirit. Of the anti-romances, as here defined, there are three clearly differentiated types: the comic romance, in which the serious romance is burlesqued by representing the idealist clashing with the stern facts of actuality; the picaresque miscellany,<sup>99</sup> in which the hero, or rather anti-hero, is a rogue in service and the theme his various rogueries; and finally, miscellaneous satires.

<sup>98</sup> *Infra*, p. 145.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. F. W. Chandler, *The Literature of Roguery and Romances of Roguery*, Pt. I, "The Picaresque Novel in Spain." These two works treat the whole matter so exhaustively that the present writer has merely sought to show the relation of the rogue story to the novel of manners and sentiment.

To the first of these groups, the comic romances, belongs the celebrated *Don Quixote*<sup>100</sup> of Cervantes, upon which all succeeding romances of the type were more or less closely modelled. That delightful work is too well-known to require comment, but in passing, we may note that its rambling structure and the introduction of totally irrelevant stories were the features most easily imitated. The popularity of *Don Quixote* was immediate, and as great in France and England as in Spain. It was left for France alone, however, to produce worthy successors. Sorel in *Le Berger Extravagant* (1628), and more particularly in *Polyandre* (1648), dropped the pure burlesque, and presented with much grossness, types and episodes which he had observed among the lower classes. Furetière in *Le Roman Bourgeois* (1666), and Scarron in *Le Roman Comique* (1651), showed the possibilities of bourgeois material; and finally Lesage, following the *Histoire Comique de Francion* (1622), of Sorel, combined the comic romance and picaresque miscellany in his inimitable *Gil Blas* (1715-35). In addition to these notable works, there were many inferior burlesques, such as the lively Bussy-Rabutin's *L'Histoire Amoureuse des Gaules* (1665), and Perdou de la Subligny's *La Fausse Clélie* (1670). Practically all the French productions were translated into English:—*The Extravagant Shepherd*, in 1654; *Francion* in 1655; *The Comical Romance* in 1670; *The Mock Clelia* in 1678; and the *Gargantua* of Rabelais<sup>101</sup> in 1653, but none of them rivalled the *Don Quixote* in popularity. Cervantes's masterpiece, or rather the first part of it, was translated by Shelton in 1612, the second part was added in 1615, and a complete edition printed in 1620. A new version was made by J. Phillips in 1687, and throughout the century there were reprints, abridgments and chapbooks.

Popular as statistics would indicate the comic romance to have been, English authors were not stimulated to compete,—perhaps the very abundance of the foreign narratives checked

<sup>100</sup> *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha*, Pt. i. Madrid, 1605. Pt. ii, 1615. Avellaneda's continuation appeared in 1614.

<sup>101</sup> For a discussion of Rabelais in England, see Upham, *The French Influence in English Literature*, Ch. v, p. 219 sq. It contains a full account of the translations up to 1660.

original endeavor. Whatever the cause, the fact remains that there are but three very inferior English specimens,—*Don Juan Lamberto* (1649–1662), which has been discussed with the chivalric romances; *Wit and Fancy in a Maze* by S. Holland (1656),<sup>102</sup> and *The Essex Champion, or the Famous History of Sir Belley of Bellerecay and his Squire Ricardo* (c. 1685). The immediate influence of the comic romances on English creative art is to be found in the drama, in the satires, and indirectly, in the tone of the short realistic tales or “novels,” but their really great influence was first exerted in the eighteenth century, when Fielding, Smollett, and lesser writers infused the material drawn from the romances, the new novel of manners, and the narratives of roguery and adventure, with the robust and wholesome, if somewhat coarse, humor of Cervantes, Scarron, and Lesage.

On the whole, even less influential were the romances of roguery or picaresque miscellanies, which form the second group of anti-romances. “As conceived in Spain and matured in France, the picaresque novel is the comic biography (or more often autobiography) of an anti-hero who makes his way in the world through the service of masters, satirizing their personal faults, as well as their trades and professions. It therefore possesses two poles of interest—one, the rogue and his tricks; the other, the manners he pillories.”<sup>103</sup> In Elizabethan literature, this type of fiction reached a considerable degree of perfection, as is attested by Nash’s *Unfortunate Traveller; or, the Life of Jacke Wilton* (1598), Breton’s *Miseries of Mauillia, the most unfortunate Ladie that ever lived*<sup>103a</sup> (1599), Chettle’s *Pierce Plainnes seaven Yeres Prentiship* (1595), and such allied forms of rogue literature as the tracts of Greene and Dekker. Yet it was not long before the native works were completely superseded by the continental:—*La*

<sup>102</sup> Later reprinted as *Romancio-Mastix* in 1660, and still later as *The Spaniard; or Don Zara del Foga, translated from the Spanish by Basilius Musophilus* in 1719.

<sup>103</sup> Chandler, *Literature of Roguery*, i. 5.

<sup>103a</sup> No. 4 of *The Wil of Wit, Wit's Will or Wil's Wit, Chuse you Whether. Compiled by Nicholas Breton, Gentleman, 1599.* Reprinted in 1606 and ed. by J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps in 1860.

*Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes* was translated in 1568-9 and reprinted at least twenty times by 1740; *La Desordenada Codicia de los Bienes Agenos* appeared in 1638, as *The Sonne of the Rogue, or Politick Theefe; Guzman de Alfarache*, first printed in English in 1622, went through fully a dozen editions in our period. During the years from 1610, the date of Dekker's *O per se O*, to 1700, there were only three or four English contributions: *The English Rogue* by Head and Kirkman, an inferior *rifacimento* of all the tales of trickery current at its date of publication (1665); Kirkman's *Unlucky Citizen Experimentally Described* (1673), which differs from the norm in substituting a poor tradesman for the rogue in service; *Teague O'Divelly; or the Irish Rogue* (1690), a cheap tract; and *The Dutch Rogue, or Guzman of Amsterdam* (1683), a wretched copy of the Spanish and possibly a translation. Picaresque material appeared in many of the novels of intrigue, such as Mrs. Behn's *Fair Jilt*, in the disgusting memoirs of noble rakes,<sup>104</sup> as for example, in such translations as *Gallant Memoirs, Count Brion, Adventures of a Man of Honour*, and finally, in reformative tracts and narratives of a popular nature, of which the best example is Bunyan's *Life and Death of Mr. Badman*. The form, but not the matter of the picaresque is utilized in a curious little work, *The Compleat Mendicant* (1699) which recounts the adventures of "an unfortunate gentleman" as a student at Oxford, as a follower of a divine, as a teacher and as a shepherd. The detail, the illusion of actuality, the insistence on the literal truth of the events described, the earnestness and common-sense morality have led the compilers of the *British Museum Catalogue*, following earlier bibliographers, to attribute it to Defoe, but such authorities as Lee, Aitken, and Professor Trent have rejected it. Whether or not Defoe was the author is of little moment for the *Compleat Mendicant* had no imitators, although, curiously enough, it was reprinted in Dublin a generation later. To quote Professor Chandler once more: "The romance of roguery languished, to be revived only in the second decade of the eighteenth century by two

<sup>104</sup> *Infra*, Chapter II.

forces. One was the naturalism and character-drawing of Defoe; the other was the literary inspiration of Lesage.<sup>105</sup> Yet Defoe cannot be classed with writers of picaresque romances, for his narratives of roguery were developed from the popular criminal biographies rather than from the Spanish literary form, and differ from the latter not only in structure and in emphasizing character instead of incident, but in being quite free from the cynical anti-idealistic spirit.

The remaining anti-romances, which constitute the third group, are of no distinct genre, but are narrative satires of many varieties. As has already been stated, there were a few imitations of the *Satyricon* of Petronius, such as the *Euphor-mio* of Barclay, and the *Pantaleonis Vaticinia* of John Hume, but these rare Latin works, accessible only to the learned, were uninfluential. More important are the descriptions in which a place, institution, person, or custom is caricatured in a lively, ironical, and almost invariably scandalous manner. Such for example were *The Academy of Love, describing ye Folly of Younge Men and ye Fallacy of Women* (1641), a Petronian satire of the cult of Platonic Love; *The Ramble*;<sup>106</sup> *The Adventures of Covent Garden in imitation of Scarron's 'City Romance'*<sup>107</sup> (1699); the graphic *Amusements Serious and Comical Calculated for the Meridian of London*<sup>108</sup> (1700); *Comical Views of London and Westminster* (1705); *The Mall* (1709); *Description of Epsom in a Letter to Eudoxia*<sup>108a</sup> (1711), all ostensibly in the manner of Scarron; a *Comical Description of a Nunnery* (1700), doubtless provoked by the

<sup>105</sup> *Literature of Roguery*, i. 229; ii. 284.

<sup>106</sup> Chandler, *The Literature of Roguery*, ii. 150, gives the date as 1651, and attributes it to George Fidge, author of an account of a criminal named Hind, under the title of the *English Guzman*. In the B. M. Catalogue it is listed as anonymous and the date given as 1730.

<sup>107</sup> The author really followed Furctière's *Roman Bourgeois*.

<sup>108</sup> By Tom Brown and reprinted with his *Collected Works* in 1707-08, 1715, 1719-20, 1727, 1744, 1760. The *Amusements* are really a free and lively translation of Dufresny's *Amusements*, in which London has been substituted for Paris. Brown's "Indian" describes the people he meets and the resorts he frequents almost as vividly as Defoe, but his grossness and savage satire are most repellent.

<sup>108a</sup> By John Toland.

*Letters of a Portugese Nun*; and the journalistic *London Spy* (1703-09), by Ned Ward. Besides these descriptive narratives there were character-sketches like the *Drudge, or, the Jealous Extravagant* (1672); *The Extravagant Poet* (1682); *The Reformer exposing the Vices of the Age in Several Characters* (1700); culminating in "The Rake," the "Pedant," and "The Coquette" of *Spectator* fame. Finally, there were prophecies and visions usually more or less political in nature, such as *The Man in the Moon telling Strange Fortunes to the English People* (1609), and *The Highland Prophecy* (1712). The only example of this class which has any claim to literary merit, or which attained enough popularity to be influential, is the Spanish *Visions and discourses, concerning abuses, vices and deceits in all offices and estates of the world* by Quevedo y Villegas<sup>109</sup> which, first translated into English by L'Estrange in 1667, ran through twelve reprints by 1745, besides being burlesqued in verse (1702), and in the *New Quevedo, or, Visions of Charon's Passengers* (1702).

This brings us to the end of our survey of the anti-romances, though by no means all of the works have been mentioned. Nevertheless, the content, spirit, and structure of the different types are sufficiently apparent to enable us to judge of their contribution to the development of the novel of manners. The comic romances, as we have seen, provoked no worthy imitation before Fielding; the picaresque miscellany as a distinct genre died out except in sporadic instances; the various satires died a natural death or were merged with other contributory forms. The great contribution of the anti-romances, then, was not so much actual material or structure, as the training of readers and writers of all classes to appreciate the humorous or comic view of life, the cultivating of a taste for robust animalism as opposed to the ethereal sentimentalism of the romances, the revealing of the possibilities of low life and bourgeois material, the realistic depiction of a definite, con-

<sup>109</sup> *Sueños y Discursos de verdades descubridoras de Abusos, Vicios y Engaños en todos los Oficios, y Estados del Mundo* (1627), by Quevedo y Villegas. The author's *Buscon* was translated in 1657 and by Capt. John Stevens in 1707.

crete background, and the developing of a vigorous, colloquial style for purposes of narration, although not as yet for the expression of emotion. The anti-romantic fiction, in its reaction from the idealistic, reflective, and subjective romances, became too cynical, too gross, and too objective. The novel of manners lies between the two extremes, and already there were signs of its development. In the *Compleat M endicant* there is a reaction against indecency and immorality and a recognition of the ordinary good man as a possible hero. And, on the other hand, realism is creeping into the romances, in the shape of "portraits," allegory, and allusions to contemporary events.

## CHAPTER II

### THE NOVEL

(1600-1700)

The novel as the term was used in the seventeenth century signified merely "a short tale, generally of love,"<sup>1</sup> and was applied to all narratives which seemed short in comparison with the folio romances.<sup>2</sup> In the collection of *Modern Novels*<sup>3</sup> published in 1692, fully one fourth of the stories are romances, one, *The Emperour and the Empire Betrayed*, is a political tract, another, *Instructions to a Young Nobleman*, is a manual of behavior, while nearly one half the last volume is occupied with the *Dialogues of the Dead*. Thus, were we to accept a definition of the "novel" based on the loose usage of the seventeenth century, we should have to consider, in addition to many diverse types of fiction, much extraneous material. Although there was no generally recognized limitation to the use of the term 'novel,' there were several sporadic attempts to distinguish between the novel and other forms of prose narrative. Congreve made a unique effort to differentiate between the novel and the romance in the introduction to his *Incognita*.

"Romances are generally composed of the constant Loves and invincible COURAGES of Hero's and Heroines, Kings and Queens, Mortals of the first Rank, and so forth: where lofty Language miraculous Contingencies and impossible Performances, elevate and surprise the Reader into a giddy Delight, which leaves him flat upon the Ground, whenever he gives off, and vexes him to think how he has suffer'd himself to be pleased and transported, concern'd and afflicted at the several Passages he has read. . . .

<sup>1</sup> S. Johnson, *Dictionary of the English Language*. Reprint of 1773. An interesting discussion of some of these novelettes from the point of view of the evolution of the short story is to be found in H. S. Canby's *The Short Story*, III., vii. 117-177.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. R. Steele, *The Tender Husband*, Sc. 2, Act IV., "though our amours can't furnish out a romance they'll make a pretty novel."

<sup>3</sup> See Bibliography, under "Collections."

Novels are of a more familiar nature; come near to us and represent to us Intrigues in practice, delight us with Accidents and odd events but not such as are wholly unusual or unpresided, such as not being so distant from our Belief bring also the pleasure nearer us. Romances give more of Wonder, Novels more Delight. And with reverence be it spoken and the Parallel kept at due Distance, there is something of equality in the Proportion which they bear in reference to one another, with that between Comedy and Tragedy."

On the other hand, the distinction between the novel, a fictitious narrative, and the history, an authentic chronicle, while nowhere clearly expressed, was generally recognized. The collected works of Mrs. Behn and Mrs. Haywood, for instance, are divided on this basis into "novels and histories," and such titles as *The Amours of Philario and Olinda, or The Intreagues of Windsor. A Genuine History*, are common. At the same time, purely fictitious tales were called "histories," and in some instances both terms were employed on one title page, as *The History of the Loves of Lysander and Sabina: a Novel*. Neither of these distinctions can be considered satisfactory, and, as some limitation is necessary for convenience and conciseness in discussion, we shall arbitrarily confine our attention to those narratives of a fictitious nature in which the realistic element predominates. This leaves for our consideration approximately one hundred novels of which less than a quarter are native works and fully two thirds translations or adaptations from the French.

During the first fifty years of the century the Italian *novelle* of Boccaccio, Bandello, Cinthio, and their French imitations by Belleforest and Margaret of Navarre were practically displaced by the long sentimental romances. In fact, brief tales, if we exclude the short romances and the *novelle* interspersed through the longer works, were printed only about a dozen times between 1600 and 1660.<sup>4</sup> During the later years of

<sup>4</sup> The *Decameron* was reprinted three times (1620, 1625, 1655-57); *The Exemplary Novels* of Cervantes in various combinations appeared in 1638 and 1640; the *Heptameron* of Margaret of Navarre in 1654; Machiavelli's *The Divell a Married Man* in 1647, and a seemingly original production, *Triana, or a Threefold Romanza*, in 1654 and again in 1664. There were also, two quaint and vulgar English collections, *The Tinker of Turvey*, reprinted in 1608 and 1630, and *Westward for Smelts*, in 1620. The former first appeared in 1590, the latter probably goes back to 1600.

the century, on the contrary, there was a great demand for short realistic narratives, and we find Elizabethan versions and contemporary modernizations of the Italian tales filling second class collections, such as *A Choice Banquet of witty jests, rare fancies, and pleasant novels* (1665), *The Delightful Novels* (1686), *The Banquet for Gentlemen and Ladies* (second edition, 1703), *The Power of Love in Seven Novels* (1720) by Mrs. Manley, the *Winter Evening Tales* (1723), and *Wit in all Shapes* (1734), in which deceived husbands, seduced heiresses, cheating gallants, and miserly uncles figure largely in plots too coarse to permit discussion. The directness and rapidity of the narratives may be gathered from the following speech made by a nameless heroine to a passing hero who happened to rescue her from death at the hands of her wicked uncle.

"Sir, I never inquired whether you was married or no, nor was it a question ever in my thoughts before; if you are not and will accept of my person with the Fortune that attends it, I hope to be happy in your embraces." He accepted.

These however, differed widely from the fashionable novels of the seventeenth century. The Italian *novelle* were in practically all instances the point of departure, but the Spanish and French writers wrought fundamental changes before the brief tale was revived in England. The first novels to regain popular favor were, naturally enough, the romantic Spanish tales, many of which, indeed, hover on the borderland of pure romance.

#### NOVELS OF THE CLOAK AND SWORD

Stories of crossed loves and struggles between love and duty were favorite themes with the Spanish. A much used formula was that of the constant loves of two young persons, betrothed under compulsion to others and upon the discovery of their clandestine attachment summarily separated and most harshly treated. Endings differed; the lovers might successfully elope, or they might both be killed in the attempt, or the hero might yield to his hard-hearted guardians and the heroine die of

grief, and so on. Almost equally popular was the combination of the seduction and crossed love motifs in which the deserted girl pursued her recreant lover. The difference between the Italian and Spanish novels is, however, not so much a matter of plot as of treatment, for whatever the plot, the latter all possess the many incidents, surprises, duels, mistaken identities, and picturesque settings, which characterize the drama of the Cloak and Sword. The most artistically perfect stories are to be found among the *Exemplary Novels* of Cervantes—*The Two Damsels*, *The Force of Blood*, *The Little Gypsy*, *The Spanish-English Lady*—but they are by no means the most typical, for they are much shorter than the average and almost unique in utilizing the every day life of the working classes as a setting for romantic and aristocratic love tales. Such rather picaresque novels as *The Loving Revenge, or Wit in a Woman*;<sup>4a</sup> *The Lucky Escape, or the Jilt Detected*; *The Witty Extravagant, or, The Fortunate Lover*, and the French imitations of the Spanish, such as *The Pilgrim* by the prolific Bremond and the *Spanish Historics* of the Countess D'Aulnoy are perhaps more nearly representative. *The Exemplary Novels* were very popular in England. They were translated as a whole by Mabbe in 1640 and reprinted in 1694, 1708 and 1728. Individual tales, frequently without any acknowledgment of the author and under a different title, appeared much oftener in collections such as *Four Tragical Histories of our Late Times*, i. e., *The Force of Blood*, *The Spanish-English Lady*, *The Lady Cornelia* and *the Two Damsels* (1638), *The Annals of Love* (1672), and *The Spanish Decameron* (1687).

English stories of this nature are few in number and poor in quality. *Triana; or, a Threefold Romanza of Mariana, Paduana, and Sabina* made its appearance anonymously in 1654, but in a reprint of 1664 it is attributed to Thomas Fuller. *Mariana* and *Paduana* are conventional stories of intrigue with romantic accessories and a picturesque Spanish setting. *Sabina*<sup>5</sup> has the more unusual theme of a wife brought to

<sup>4a</sup> This is a translation of "El Amor en la vengança" from *Tardes Entretenidas* (1625) of Alonso de Castillo Solorzano, author of *La Garduña*.

<sup>5</sup> *Sabina* was induced by her husband's implicit confidence in her virtue to confess to him her amour with the wicked Niclokaya. That disappointed

repentance by a kind and virtuous husband. The intrigue, however, does not center about that interesting point, but about the just punishment of her wicked lover.

Less moral and more consciously wrought is *The Player's Tragedy, or, Fatal Love, a new Novel* (1693), by an anonymous, and presumably juvenile, writer. The author, after stressing the dignity and worth of players as a fit subject, explains that "'Tis the fatal end of their amours, not their lives that I here pretend to attempt in this novel, having furnished myself with the best information I could get, to render it perfect and satisfactory. . . . I do not tell the head and original of the heroine. I propose only one great action as my aim." After such a clear preface and deliberate acceptance of the laws of the pseudo-classic tragedy the ensuing medley of crossed loves is disappointing.<sup>6</sup> The author was interested not in the intrigue, but in the character of Montano, and much of the clumsiness of the story results from his endeavors to enable the reader to enter into the hero's emotions and thoughts. The vacillating Montano is strongly reminiscent of Hamlet but the monologues and the chorus go back to Greek tragedy. Poor as it is, *The Player's Tragedy* is an interesting precursor of the subjective character study.

lover resolved to get revenge, and to that end purchased the assistance of the Abbot. Through the connivance of the latter, Sabina was seized at the confessional and thrown into the deep abbey cellar to die of starvation. Several days later she was found in a dying condition by a neighbor (who happened to be excavating at that end of the Abbey), and carefully nursed back to life. The precaution was taken, however, to keep the matter absolutely secret. In the meantime, the villains took every means to fasten the crime of murdering the woman upon her husband. Finally, they brought the matter to court and would surely have won their case if they had not been suddenly confronted by Sabina, and upon the strength of her story, themselves convicted and punished.

<sup>6</sup> Bracilla, wife of Montano, a soldier, loved and was loved by the actor Monfredo. Montano, though loved by Celia, remained loyal to Bracilla. Greatly perturbed by the discovery of his wife's amour, racked by divers passions, all of which he disclosed in sententious periods to a couple of old men, who replied with lengthy moralizations, he finally killed his rival and fled. And thus the story ends, leaving the reader to imagine what finally became of Bracilla, Montano, Celia and the long suffering wife of Monfredo.

*The Brothers: or Treachery Punished. Interspersed with the Adventures of Don Alvarez, Don Lorenzo and . . . Mariana*, by "a Person of Quality" bears the date 1730, but probably belongs to a much earlier period. It resembles such fifteenth century romances as *Arnalte and Lucenda*<sup>7</sup> in having the stories told in a gloomy cavern under the auspices of a mysterious and melancholy stranger.

#### HISTORICAL NOVELS

A romantic glamour also attached itself to the historical novels. These the French novelists elaborated from the brief Italian accounts of historic and pseudo-historic episodes of a more or less scandalous character by introducing Spanish intrigue, *précieuse* discourse, Parisian manners, and now and again, a vague intimation that contemporaries might be discovered under the mask of historic names. In the majority of the thirty and more historical novels translated into English, historical personages are the center of the action, but in a few rare instances the history serves as a setting for the love story of more or less imaginary characters. *The Princess of Cleves* immediately comes to mind, but this little masterpiece by Madame de La Fayette is too well-known to require comment and too superior to be regarded as in any way typical. Although it was translated, reprinted once or twice, and crudely dramatized by Lee,<sup>8</sup> its careful psychological analysis, high moral tone, idealism, and emotional restraint, appealed neither to the readers nor to the writers of the Restoration. Most of the historical novels were no more than elaborations of celebrated incidents and familiar traditions involving illustrious characters of the past, and more particularly of the two or three

<sup>7</sup> The original Spanish version, *Tractado de amores de Arnalte e Lucenda enderezado a las damas de la reyna nuestra señora* by Diego Hernandez de San P(i)edro appeared in 1491. An English version of the Italian translation was made as early as 1575 by Claudio Hollyband. In 1608, it was re-translated and published with an Italian text by C. Desainbreensis in *The Italian School-Maister*. It was reprinted, without the Italian, in 1660 as *Arnaldo, the Injured Lover*. For a discussion of the romance and its influence see Reynier, *Le Roman Sentimental avant l'Astrée*, p. 66 sq.

<sup>8</sup> *The Princess of Cleve*, by Nathaniel Lee, 1689.

centuries immediately preceding. Sometimes, however, episodes were fabricated to explain an obscure point or throw new light on a particular character or episode.<sup>9</sup> A fairly accurate idea of the range, method, and spirit of this type of fiction may be gathered from a few specimens dealing with English subjects.

Most amusing are two stories having for their theme the flirtations of Queen Elizabeth with Essex,<sup>10</sup> Leicester and numerous other courtiers. On the whole, they were hostile to the English heroine, not hesitating to call her a heretic, a usurper, and an agent of Anti-christ. Most damaging of all to the Queen's character is the *Duke of Alençon* which represents her as the murderer of her half-sister, the unacknowledged daughter of Catharine of Arragon.

According to this tale, Alençon was the Queen's real favorite, and him she had determined to marry, when by a deliberate blunder on the part of the jealous Leicester, she discovered the Duke's passion for her ill-treated half-sister. The wily Elizabeth dissembled her chagrin, pretended repentance for her former behavior, and, as an earnest of greater good to come, made her sister a present of a pair of gloves, which she had carefully poisoned. The unsuspecting Marianne at once tried them on, and within a few hours had fallen a victim to Elizabeth's perfidy, but not before she had acquainted her lover with the cause of her death. The Queen thus got rid of her rival, but she did not attain her end, for the heart-broken Duke "reflecting on the dangers ensuing from so perfidious a character," speedily returned to his native land.

<sup>9</sup> The theory of the matter is clearly put by the "Person of Honour" who compiled or translated the *Annals of Love* (1672), a series of very brief stories drawn from Spanish, English, and French history.

"When the history of Spain tells me a sovereign Countess of Castile followed a poor Pilgrim into France, I cannot imagine things could run so high in a moment; they must see one another, they must meet, and discourse, before she could come to so strange a resolution. I have augmented the history therefore with several interviews and amorous dialogues of mine own; if they are not what they really spake, they are at least what they might."

<sup>10</sup> *The Earl of Essex and Queen Elizabeth*, 1650. Reprinted in 1680 and contained in *Mod. Nov.*, vol. i. *The Duke of Alençon and Queen Elizabeth*, *Mod. Nov.*, vol. i.

Less lively is a narrative dealing with an earlier period in English history, *The Amours of Edward IV.*<sup>11</sup> which purports to be an account given by the Queen-Mother to her daughter. Curiously enough it makes no reference to the celebrated Jane Shore. A more extraordinary production is *Mack-Beth*<sup>12</sup> (1708), which by making license the ruling passion of the hero, of his villainous wife, and of all their associates, reduces the old legend to a series of gross intrigues. In *The English Princess, or the Dutchess Queen* (1678), we have a Restoration version of the story Mr. Major has familiarized to us in *When Knighthood Was in Flower*,<sup>14</sup> and the two afford an enlightening contrast. In both the interest centers around the love affairs of Mary and Brandon,<sup>15</sup> but in the former these are complicated by the gross amours of Henry, Dorset, Suffolk and other courtiers, and there is no attempt as in the later version to idealize the characters or to elaborate a picturesque setting. In short, there was no desire in this, or, for that matter, in any of the novels dealing with historical personages, to escape from the present to a glamour-covered past; on the contrary, it was an attempt to explain the past in the terms of contemporary society.

The English produced only one work of this type, but many of the translations are so elaborated and re-worked that they bear little resemblance to the originals. The "Person of Honour" who translated *Don Hencriques de Castro*,<sup>16</sup> a series

<sup>11</sup> *The Amours of Edward IV. An Historical Novel. By the Author of the Turkish Spy*, 1700. There is no evidence, to my knowledge, to indicate that Marana, Midgley, Dr. Manley, or any person whose name is connected with the *Turkish Spy*, c. 1698, was concerned with the narrative, so that it may be a publisher's advertisement or, again, may be by Bradshaw or some other hack-writer in Midgley's employ.

<sup>12</sup> *Hypolitus, Earl of Douglas, containing some Memoirs of the Court of Scotland with the Secret-History of Mack-Beth*. Translated from the French of M. C. de La Mothe, Countess d'Aulnoy.

<sup>14</sup> *When Knighthood Was in Flower*, by Edwin Caskoden (pseud. Charles Major). Indianapolis, 1896.

<sup>15</sup> This same Brandon is the hero of the story in Boyle's *English Adventures* (1676).

<sup>16</sup> *Don Heneriques de Castro; or, the Conquest of the Indies. A Spanish Novel. Translated out of the Spanish by a Person of Honour*, London, 1685. In *Mod. Nov.*, vol. i.

of interwoven love stories in which the scene shifts from Europe to America, and which makes love, instead of lust of gold, the incentive for the wholesale butchery of the Indians during the conquest of Peru, stated very frankly in his preface that he had greatly improved the novel, "by combining two of the characters, continuing the story after the sacrifice of the Indians, cutting down the details concerning the Italian wars, and adding from other sources new incidents." Such a revised translation almost deserves to be classed as an independent production. *English Adventures* (1676) by a "Person of Honour," generally supposed to be Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, is a very interesting example of the way in which the Restoration mingled past and present, romance and cynical realism, pastoral and court intrigue. The story opens with the death of Henry VII. The new king upon the pretense of retiring to mourn in solitude, escapes from court incognito, to go hunting with his favorite Howard. The scene shifts immediately to the hunt, which gives Boyle an opportunity to describe "Aurora and the beauties of her train." A passerby, Brandon by name, hearing the baying of the hounds, turns into the woods to join the party. As he hesitates which way to ride, he sees a young couple sauntering along in true Arcadian fashion and so engrossed in one another that they are unaware of the approach of a huge stag. Brandon's shouts awaken them to their danger, whereupon the lady faints and her cowardly escort flees. Brandon rushes to the lady's side, and at the same time Henry comes forward from the opposite direction. The fair Isabella has scarcely recovered consciousness when Howard appears and offers his good offices. All three men promptly fall in love with the incomparable beauty, and their relations become so strained that Brandon, who perceives himself outclassed, tells the history of his life to divert their minds and keep the peace. This proves to be precisely the story of Otway's *Orphan*<sup>17</sup> (1680). Isabella then tells how she came to be wandering in the woods with the cowardly Good-

<sup>17</sup> Roden Noel, editor of the Mermaid edition of Otway, states that the same story, or a similar one, forms the basis of an earlier play, *The Hog Hath Lost His Pearl* (1612-13), by Robert Tailor.

win, to whom she has been affianced by her father. Here there is another break in the story, Isabella is married to the craven Goodwin, and the interest shifts to the intrigues of Howard and Henry with her. The King wins her affections, and to show his implicit faith both in her and in his rival, appoints Howard her guardian. The latter by over-assiduous watching, angers Isabella, who in exasperation pretends to be in love with a page. Henry being informed of this amour very nearly ruins Isabella, but she saves herself by the common romance device of proving the youth to be a girl who has assumed that disguise, in the hope of winning the affection of Howard.

#### VEILED HISTORIES, PSEUDO-JOURNALS, ETC.

The transition from scandal of the past to scandal of the present was both natural and easy. Instead of writing directly like the old Italians or our reporters, writers took shelter behind feigned names, veiled histories, pseudo-memoirs and the like. Least common are tales of romantic intrigue in which the characters are given "feigned names." The best representatitive is *A Tragi-comical History of Our Own Times under the Borrowed Names of Lisander and Calista* translated from the French of Vital D'Audiger by a "W. D." in 1627, and twice reprinted and partly retranslated by 1652.

The secret histories are of many varieties. Some were purely political, as, for example, *An Historical Romance of the Wars between the mighty Giant G. and the Great Knight Nasonius* (*i. e.*, Louis XIV and William III). Others combined politics, romance, and gossip in the manner of the *Perplex'd Prince*, in which the King (Charles II) is depicted as induced by his villainous brother (the Duke of York) to deny the legitimacy of his son (the Duke of Monmouth). Still others, such as the popular pseudo-letters of *The Turkish Spy*<sup>18</sup> (1698), were discursive compilations of political and social news. More notorious than these were the collections of scandalous town gossip with a political animus, such as *The Secret History of Queen Zarah and the Zarazians* (1705),<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *Infra*, p. 106, n.

<sup>19</sup> Attributed to Mrs. Manley.

Mrs. Manley's *The Secret Memoirs and Manners of several Persons of both sexes from the New Atalantis* (1709), *Memoirs of Europe at the close of the eighth century*. Written by Egenhardus, secretary and favorite to Charlemagne (1710), and Mrs. Haywood's *Memoirs of an Island Adjacent to Utopia* (1725). In the *New Atalantis*, Astrea and deserted Virtue, make a tour of the island under the guidance of Intelligence, i. e. Scandal, who points out notable persons and recounts the more important episodes in their lives. Sigismund II is Charles II; the Prince of Tameran, James II; Jeanatin, Mrs. Jennings; the Marquis of Caria, the Duke of Marlborough, and so on. In Mrs. Haywood's *Utopia*, a stranger narrates his experiences while viewing the island under the guidance of Cupid, who incidentally gives him much information about the social relations of the inhabitants both collectively and individually. Many of the stories are similar to the worst of the Italian *novelle*, and it is highly probable that much of the indecent scandal of the period was made up out of those old tales.

During the latter half of the seventeenth century no form of literature was more popular than the gossipy biographical narrative, whether it took the form of autobiography, biography, journal-book, or memoir.<sup>19a</sup> Howell, Lovelace, Digby, the Duke of Wharton, the Duchess of Newcastle and dozens of others, recounted their experiences with the minutest detail and an apparent endeavor to present the literal truth. Every prominent prince, adventurer, general, pirate, and rogue had his life chronicled. Count Tekli, Count D'Aubusson, Don Carlos, Casimir, King of Poland, Captain Jones, Captain Hind and Pirate Avery, were all made the heroes of sensational narratives. Even in the most authentic of these works there was bound to be an element of fiction, and in the majority "truth was to advantage dressed" and facts modified to conform more closely to romance. Sir Kenelm Digby,<sup>20</sup> for example,

<sup>19a</sup> Cf. A. R. Burr, *The Autobiography, A Critical and Comparative Study*, 1909, esp. pp. 157-171, and Appendix B.

<sup>20</sup> *Private Memoirs*, c. 1627. Quoted by Upham, *French Influence in English Literature*, pp. 369-70.

deliberately wrought his courtship of Venetia Stanley into the form of the fashionable romances, and the account of the *Life and . . . Piracies . . . of Captain Avery*, both in the anonymous 1700 version and the 1719 amplification by Defoe, is practically wholly fabulous.<sup>21</sup> In such narrations as *Casimer, King of Poland*, great liberties were taken and many episodes interpolated by the narrator. The translators in the same spirit rendered their texts very freely and sometimes, as in the case of the *Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of Signor Roselli*,<sup>22</sup> a spurious part was added. From the semi-genuine biography and memoir to the pseudo-biography and memoir is a natural transition. Like the secret-histories they were utilized for many purposes. The *Memoirs of Mlle. de St. Phale* recounts her attempted conversion by some Jesuits. Many were political tracts. The Duke of Marlborough and Godolphin were often satirized, the former as Prince Mirabel,<sup>23</sup> the latter as E— of G—d—n. Even the King was not free from this form of personal abuse, if, as seems likely, he was the subject of *The Compendious History of George the Farmer*. On the other hand, these memoirs were often used as strong partisan pleas, three, for example, having been written on behalf of Harley. Such works, however, unless devoting considerable space to the "amours" of the hero, were regarded as tracts, rather than as novels. Gross personal gossip and slander furnished the sole interest in such narratives as *Amours of the Sultana of Barbary* (1680), *i. e.* the Duchess of Portland; *The Princess of Fess, or the Amours of the Court of Morocco* (1682);<sup>24</sup> and *The Amours of Messalina, late Queen of Albion*

<sup>21</sup> *Modern Novels*, vol. iv.

<sup>22</sup> Done into English from the second edition of the French of the Abbé Olivier (by D. Defoe?), 1709. There was original matter added in the edition of 1713, and in 1724 a continuation appeared, for which no French original seems to have been found.

<sup>23</sup> *The History of Prince Mirabel's* (*i. e.* John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough's) *infancy, rise and disgrace, with the sudden promotion of Novicus* (*i. e.* Harley), *In which are intermix'd all the intrigues relating to those adventures: as also the characters of the old and new favorites in the court of Britomartia. Collected from the Memoirs of a courtier lately deceased.* 3 pts., 1712. This is sometimes attributed to Defoe.

<sup>24</sup> *Modern Novels*, vol. iv.

(1689). In the *History of the Marechal de la Ferté*,<sup>25</sup> *Casimer, King of Poland*; *The Cheating Gallant, or Count Brion*,<sup>26</sup> and *Gallant Memoirs, or Adventures of a Person of Quality*,<sup>27</sup> the element of personal slander has almost disappeared and we find the "historians" utilizing the *novelle* and the drama. The flippant aristocratic rakes who figure in most of these narratives have much in common with the roguish *pícaros* and are distant precursors of the Lovelaces of the ensuing century.

These sensational compilations possess no artistic merits to outweigh the essentially narrow and ephemeral character of the subject-matter, but their closeness to actuality, familiar style, vivid pictures, and pervading vigor were invaluable training in realistic narration. Particularly helpful to the development of narrative art was the memoir, for by its very structure it gave a fortuitous unity to the series of adventures and afforded an excellent opportunity for the subjective analysis and development of character. Furthermore, the authentic works showed the writers of fiction how to produce the illusion of truth by the use of abundant detail and a simple confidential style.

#### THE NOVEL OF MANNERS

The Italian *novelle* of manners were in nearly all instances stories of indecorous intrigues and cheats perpetrated by characters of fixed types. The wife deceives her husband, the son cheats his father, the maid betrays her mistress, the apprentice cheats his master, and we are called upon to laugh with the cheater. "To the victor belong the spoils," and no sympathy is wasted on the victim. The French retained the directness and clearness of their models, and, unfortunately, the harshness and indecency as well, but by complicating and elaborating the intrigue, by reproducing in detail the externals of Parisian life, by introducing the superficial features of the *précieuse* manners, and by the use of much dialogue and a colloquial style, they wrought a great and fundamental change. Slowly the set plots with fixed types yielded to stories drawn

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. vii.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ix.

from actual life, and the characters began to assume individuality. The most notable advance, perhaps, is in the matter of style. Essentially the slangy, yet withal witty, conversation of the Smart Set, it has little aesthetic merit; but after the endless periods and inane conceits of the romances, its life and vigor are stimulating. These changes came about gradually. One writer combined Spanish romance with everyday episodes and manners, another depicted unusual characters in an old plot, another exploited new material but in a dull wooden style, while another retold an old story in a style so vivid as to give it new life. Most of these novels found their way into English, but fortunately the English themselves wrote a sufficient number to enable us to follow the development by studying the native productions.

#### THE TRANSITION

Of the combination of the romantic Spanish intrigue with prosaic contemporary manners, the English novels afford three excellent examples. In 1693, appeared *Virtue Rewarded; or the Irish Princess*,<sup>28</sup> by an anonymous writer and dedicated "to Marinda from whom is taken the name and chief beauties." Among the prisoners taken after the battle of the Boyne was Marinda, who thought "She ne'er saw courts, yet courts could have undone." With this peerless country beauty the conquering general immediately fell in love, and she, by maintaining her "virtue" so won his regard that he made her his wife. Interwoven with this Richardsonian story is the pathetic tale of Faniaca, a deserted Indian maid, one of the earliest sentimental stories concerning the trusting and much abused good savage. Other threads complicate the action, and the whole is hampered by detailed descriptions of gross adventures, the camp life of the soldiers, and lengthy disquisitions on statecraft, contemporary politics, and morals. The style, even in the scenes from camp life, is stiff and often ludicrously pompous.

Far more diverting is *The Adventures of the Helvetian*

<sup>28</sup> Mod. Nov., vol. xiii.

*Hero with the Young Countess of Albania; or the Amours of Armadorous and Vincentia: a Novel* (1694).

Armadorous, a handsome Switzer, sees in church the beautiful young countess of Albania. Instantly both fall in love and promptly both begin to pine away. Drusilla, Vincentia's maid, discovers the cause of her lady's disorders, and immediately proceeds to "capture the man." Dressed as a peasant, she ogles him in church, gives him mysterious, vague notes, and in short, gets him thoroughly excited and bewildered. In the meantime, Vincentia frequents the church and leaves the rest to fate and Drusilla. Her mother has an intuition that something is amiss and reads her a lecture on the danger of clandestine attachments and the evil character of Switzers. By artful lying Vincentia escapes detection, but the mother is so far from being convinced that she whisks her daughter away to their country seat early the next morning. The distressed girl now recalls a dream "both pleasant and unpleasant," and, interpreting it to suit her desires, decides to write frankly to Armadorous. After one or two epistles have been exchanged, he commits the indiscretion of presenting both himself and his letters to the dowager. Then follows an excellent scene between Vincentia and her mother, in which the heroine declares the entire story a fraud and is forthwith ordered to "deny it to his face." To this she gladly consents in order to have the opportunity to talk with him, and, the mother being opportunely called away, she explains the necessity for deception and plans out their future course. After many attempts, they succeed in eloping, are forgiven by the dowager, return to her, and live happily for a short time, all in accordance with the first part of the aforementioned dream. But one unlucky day Armadorous inquires about the estate, for "no Switzer fights where no money is." This enquiry greatly angers Vincentia, who, as it turns out, had years before settled her estate on her mother. The lovers quarrel, separate, and enter suits for divorce. Before the case reaches the court, the hero is taken seriously ill, which leads him to repentance and arouses a desire for reconciliation. He sends pitiful notes to the now obdurate Vincentia, and as soon as he is well enough, returns to his wife, but although he sings and pleads outside her window, he receives no response. "So he wanders like Æneas from place to place, modestly telling the story of his woes and always winning the sympathy of the ladies." Indeed so strong does public opinion become that Vincentia finally takes him back. "Which tale," concludes the author, "should be a warning to quarrelsome lovers."

Less sprightly is the tale of the *Unhappy Lovers; or, The Timorous Fair One, being the Loves of Alexander and Mellecinda* (1694).

The perfect hero Artaxander<sup>29</sup> loves the incomparable beauty Mellecinda, who reciprocates his affection. Her mother, with hardhearted perversity, prefers the foolish poltroon Lucidor. So the mother manœuvres very cleverly to have Artaxander given a distant army command, and, upon his receiving a slight wound, sedulously spreads the report that he has been killed. Upon the receipt of the news Mellecinda falls very ill, but after lying several weeks at death's door, improves sufficiently to be moved by her mother to the country estate of the detested Lucidor. But alas for those well laid plans! Artaxander, his wound having been healed, passes, on his way home, the estate of Lucidor, and with the assistance of his valet obtains several interviews with Mellecinda. He urges her to elope, but she hesitates and puts him off, and, before she makes up her mind, her "indiscretion in staying abroad too late" leads to the discovery of the clandestine interviews, which are thus brought to a summary close. Then the mother, by bribing the valet and forging cruel notes from Mellecinda, drives Artaxander to such despair that he seeks death in battle. Yet the scheming mother does not succeed in marrying Mellecinda to her favorite, for the night that Artaxander dies, at the exact moment that his soul is leaving his body, he appears to Mellecinda in a dream, and, without waiting for further tidings, she knows that "her lover is no more" and forthwith enters a nunnery "to await her release from so cruel a world."

These three stories illustrate the transition from the romance to the idealistic novel of manners.<sup>30</sup> The plots are intrigues but not of the conventional type and our sympathy is with the victims not the villains. The characters are not heroic, not even markedly romantic; but, on the other hand, they are not quite easy and natural. As for the style, it varies from the rhetorical phraseology of the romances in the emo-

<sup>29</sup> Throughout the story the hero is consistently called Artaxander instead of Alexander.

<sup>30</sup> These novels in many ways resemble a group of narratives which appeared in France about 1600 and are described in considerable detail by G. Reynier in *Le Roman Sentimental avant L'Astrée*, ch. xii, pp. 300 to 313. There is, so far as I have been able to discover, no record that *Les chastes et heureux Amours de Clarimond et Antonide*, by Escuteaux, Paris, 1601; *La Vivante Filonie*, by Faure, Paris, 1605; or *Les constantes et infortunées Amours de Lintason avec l'infidèle Palinoé*, by de la Regnery, Paris, 1601, were translated, yet the English works resemble them in so many points that I feel they were in some measure indebted to them. M. Reynier's description indicates that the plots were much simpler than in the English stories and by omitting all mention of humorous passages, he implies that humor was not present, or at least not so prominent a feature as in the English examples.

tional outbursts, to bright colloquial diction in the dialogues. They show also another influence which had much bearing on the novel of manners, namely, that of the contemporary comedy.

#### NARRATIVE COMEDIES

Restoration comedy is remarkably readable. It depends for its success not so much on its theatrical qualities as on the clever manipulation of a complicated and artificial intrigue, on the clashing of the incongruous, and on the brilliant repartee of the dialogues. It is hard, cynical, superficial, and often indecent, all of which characteristics it shares with the old *novelle*, but it possesses a freshness and brilliancy all its own. Moreover, this comedy held a certain prestige and a well recognized status in the literary world. It was natural, then, that the novelists working with the same material, but in a form only partially developed and only beginning to be recognized, should turn to comedy for suggestions.<sup>31</sup> The influence of comedy can be traced in practically all of the novels of the period, but it is particularly evident in a small group which may be called Narrative Comedies. *The Helvetic Hero* might almost be so classed, for the humor is largely due to the cross purposes of the characters and the verbal misunderstandings. There are many episodes which would be most effective on the stage. Take the amusing scene in which Vincentia, having denied all knowledge of the letters Armadorous had presented to her mother, was forced to deny her letters to his face and to the satisfaction of the angry dowager and the mystification of Armadorous, took the notes and solemnly declared, "I swear I never wrote this (looking at one the maid had penned)." These humorous bits, however, are few and far between, and not the head and front of the

<sup>31</sup> Many of the Restoration comedies were based on the French novels; for example, *A Fool's Preferment*, by Durfey, is founded on *The Humours of Bassett*, the same author's *The Intrigues of Versailles*, on *The Double Cuckold* and *The Amorous Jilt*, Dryden's *Assignation*, or *Love in a Nunnery*, on *Constance, the fair Nun* and Scarron's *Comical Romance*, and his *Spanish Fryar* largely on *The Pilgrim*.

whole, as in the case of some six short novels now to be considered.

*The History of the Loves of Lysander and Sabina: a Novel* (1688), is a most entertaining story written in a manner truly diverting.

Lysander, a soldier of fortune, upon being forbidden to marry the English Sabina, went to Holland to divert his mind, and there met, and was completely charmed by Clarinda. He followed her to Spain, but their affection was so intense that it exhausted itself! He began to look for an excuse to leave and she to urge her father to provide her with a suitable husband. At this critical moment, he received a letter from the almost forgotten Sabina and resolved to return to her at once, and at the same time, Clarinda received word of her betrothal and orders to proceed immediately to the family seat of her fiancé. So it happened that,

"They both began their journey on the same day, and both under false pretences. And though they had been very well content with the whole truth, yet neither of them durst begin to declare. At parting they took a very formal and composed leave, without the least transport or passion, at which both wonder'd extreamly. After parting the only thing they were each of them very solicitous about, was the great trouble and perplexity which would seize upon the other when the mystery came to be revealed. Lysander doubted how poor Clarinda would receive the news of his departure for England, and her greatest affliction was to think how he would endure to hear of her marriage."<sup>32</sup>

Four years later appeared *Incognita: or Love and Duty Reconciled* by Congreve, who, with his usual affectation, wrote under the pseudonym of "Cleophil." The preface in which he so carefully distinguished between the novel and the romance has become famous, and has already been quoted in part. Proceeding from his general premise that "Romances give more of wonder, Novels more delight," he draws an analogy between fiction and the drama, and lays down certain laws which he intends to follow in his novel.

"And with reverence be it spoken and the parallel kept at a due distance, there is something of equality in the proportion which they bear in reference to one another, with that between comedy and tragedy. Since all traditions must indisputably give way to the drama, and since there is no possibility, of giving that life to the writing or repetition of a story that it has in the action, I resolved in another beauty to imitate dramatick writing,

<sup>32</sup> P. 135.

namely in the design, contexture, and result of the plot. I have not observed it before in a novel. The design of the novel is obvious, after the first meeting of Aurelian and Hippolito with Incognita and Leonora, and the difficulty is in bringing it to pass, maugre all apparent obstacles within the compass of two days. How many probable casualities intervene in opposition to the main design viz. of marrying two couples so oddly engaged in an intricate amour, I leave the reader at his leisure to consider; as also whether every obstacle does not in the progress of the story act as subservient to the purpose, which it at first seems to oppose. In a comedy this would be called the unity of action; here it may pretend to no more than the unity of contrivance. The scene is continued in Florence from the commencement of the amour; and the time from the first to last is but three days."

Practically every critic who has discussed *Incognita* at all, has censured it upon the ground that it fails to follow in any way the rules the author laid down in his very interesting preface, but bearing in mind the nature of Restoration comedy, it seems to me that it exactly conforms to Congreve's canons. It is, as might be inferred, nothing more nor less than a series of amusing scenes connected by sprightly narrative. The humor arising from the deliberate confusing of identities and purposes and from the dramatic situations is heightened by witty asides. It is quite apparent that Congreve visualized the scenes, we feel he saw the actor as he penned such a description as the following:

"But Aurelian, as if he had mustered up all his Spirits purely to acquit himself of that passionate harangue, stood mute and insensible, like an Alarum Clock that had spent all its force in one violent emotion."

Undoubtedly much of the humor lies in the style and in the very amusing digressions. Congreve was by no means the first to make use of the digression; we find it in Nash, in all four of the novels we have just been discussing, as well as in the burlesque *Zelinde*, but Congreve was the first to employ it so largely and so consciously. His little digression on digressions is delightful, and many of his short asides are quite in the spirit of Thackeray.

"Now the Reader I suppose to be upon thorns at this and the like impertinent digressions, but let him alone and he will come to himself; at the which time, I think fit to acquaint him, that when I digress, I am at that

time writing to please myself; when I continue the thread of the story, I write to please him; supposing him a reasonable man, I conclude him satisfied to allow me this liberty, and so I proceed.”<sup>33</sup>

And again,

“So that although Leonora was indeed mistaken, she could not be said to be much in the wrong. I could find it in my heart to beg the reader’s pardon for the digression, if I thought he would be sensible of the civility, for I promise him, I do not intend to do it again throughout the story, though I make never so many, and though he take them never so ill.”

Witty passages are so numerous that it is difficult to choose what to quote, but the following burlesque will probably suffice.

“At that (as Aurelian tells the story) a sigh diffused a mournful sweetness through the air, and liquid grief gently fell from her eyes, triumphant sadness sat upon her brow, and even sorrow seemed delighted with the conquest he had made. See what a change Aurelian felt. His heart bled tears and trembled in his breast, sighs struggling for a vent had choked each other’s passage up; cold doubts and fears had chill’d em as with a sudden frost, and he was troubled to an excess; yet knew not why. Well, the learned say it was sympathy; and I am always of the opinion of the learned, if they speak first.”<sup>34</sup>

The remaining narrative comedies, if they may be so called, more closely resemble the French. *The Generous Rivals; or Love Triumphant* (1716), is the best.

Vulpone, the avaricious uncle of the heiress Dorinda, has planned to marry her to the wealthy Phylostratus, but she prefers the poor Paneretus, and he the poor Celia, cousin to Dorinda. In order to communicate with Celia, Phylastratus readily makes use of his favor with Vulpone to act as a go-between for Dorinda and Paneretus. The lovers themselves are for a while in ignorance of the real feelings and motives of each other and as much fun arises out of their misunderstandings as out of the bewilderment of old Vulpone. References to Spring Garden, Whitehall and similar places give a good deal of local color.

The style is colloquial and vigorous with occasionally such vivid bits as this:

Phylastratus, seeing her come sailing towards him, as ‘twere with a brisk gale, immediately rose up in order to carry on the encounter with the better advantage.

<sup>33</sup> P. II.

<sup>34</sup> P. 97-98.

*The Rival Mother* (1692), deals with a popular French theme in a conventional manner.

Asteria, a widow, had long been wooed by Tazander, who fell in love with her daughter, Eliciana, who in turn was loved by Oxaris. The mother was naturally grieved when Tazander asked for the hand of her daughter, but seemingly consenting, substituted her own name in the contract. Eliciana, though broken-hearted, determined to be obedient, and after much suffering was rewarded by Tazander's renouncing her in favor of her mother.

*The Reformed Coquet* by Mrs. Davys, which did not appear till 1724, shows the influences of the eighteenth century didacticism, but in many ways resembles *Incognita*.

Amoranda, a wealthy heiress and a great flirt, takes pleasure in the attentions of Lofty and a host of Flutters and Froths. A young lord, the guardian's candidate for her husband, goes to live in the young lady's establishment in the guise of an adviser and dear friend of her guardian. In the course of a few weeks, he rescues her from many questionable situations, shows her the wickedness and frivolity of her numerous suitors, and completely wins her regard, whereupon he takes off his disguise and reveals the ideal lover. This is one of the earliest appearances in fiction of the perfect prig of which Sir Charles Grandison is the consummate example.

In style, scenes, names and general effect it is allied to the narrative comedies, while in purpose and spirit it suggests the novels of Richardson, and the edifying tales of Mrs. Rowe.

#### THE PORTUGUESE LETTERS

Before passing to the work of Mrs. Behn it will be necessary to take into consideration one other influence, perhaps the greatest single influence of the century, namely the *Letters of a Portuguese Nun*.<sup>35</sup> The first edition, a French translation, was

<sup>35</sup> *The Letters of a Portuguese Nun*. Translated by Edgar Prestage, Portland, Me., Thos. Mosher, 1900. This is a reprint of D. Nutt's edition (London, 1897), itself a revision of the 1893 edition printed by the Constable Press and limited to 500 copies.

For a discussion of the problems see: Cordeiro: *Soror Marianna. A Friera Portugueza* (Lisbon, 1888, sec. ed. 1891), which Prestage quotes as a definitive study, and E. Gosse, "A Nun's Letters." *Fortn. Review*, vol. XLIX, o. s., p. 506.

published by the Parisian bookseller Claude Barbin in 1669, and in turn translated into English by Roger L'Estrange in 1678. From that time until the present day there has been much discussion as to their authenticity, but scholars seem to have decided that they are the genuine letters of Marianne Alcoforado to Noel Bouton, Marquis of Chamily and St. Leger. A pitiful story of passionate love, despair, and proud resolve, is revealed in these five letters in which, to quote L'Estrange, the deserted woman "expostulated the business" with her lover.<sup>36</sup> The impropriety of the subject and the complete self-abandonment, appealed strongly to the sensation-loving seventeenth century. Here was none of that ethereal, dignified love of the romances, but a violent passion, of the earth earthy, expressed with that wealth of detail dear to the realists. The heroine retraced and fondly lingered over every circumstance in the history of her love, she deliberately wrought up her emotions, she appealed to her lover with pathetic tenderness, she luxuriated in self-pity and gave herself up to despair in a way, which, in spite of her terrible earnestness, verges on sheer sentimentality.

"Why did you not leave me in the repose of my cloister? Had I done you any wrong? Yet pardon me, I impute nothing to you; I have no right to think of blame; I accuse only the severity of my fate: in separating us, it has inflicted all the evil that it could. . . . Adieu! I know not how to quit this paper; it will fall into your hands. Would the same happiness were mine!"<sup>37</sup>

"Were it possible for me to quit this miserable cloister, I would not wait in Portugal for the fulfillment of your promise. Regardless of appearances, I would fly to seek you, love you, and follow you through the world. I dare not flatter myself that this can ever be; I will not cherish a hope that would assuredly yield me some pleasure; henceforth I will be sensible to grief alone."<sup>38</sup>

"I go as seldom as possible out of the room where you have been so many times, and I look incessantly at your portrait, which is a thousand times

<sup>36</sup> *Letters from a Portuguese Nun to an Officer in the French Army.* Translated by W. R. Bowles, edition of 1817. Reprinted by Brentano, New York, 1904. The quotations are taken from Brentano's edition. In Prestage's edition the *Letters* follow a different order, the one now believed to be chronological.

<sup>37</sup> P. 66.

<sup>38</sup> P. 66.

dearer to me than life. It affords me some pleasure; but it likewise causes me a great deal of anguish when I think that I shall, perhaps, never see you again.”<sup>39</sup>

“The officer has waited long for this letter: I had resolved to write in a style that should not displease you: but what an extravagant letter have I written—I must conclude—Alas! I cannot resolve to do it. Adieu! I suffer more in concluding this letter than you did in leaving me. Adieu!”<sup>40</sup>

“How dear you are to me! Oh, how cruel you are to me! You never write to me—I cannot refrain from telling you that once more—I am beginning again, and the officer will be gone—No matter—let him go! I write more for myself than you, I only seek to console myself. . . . What have I done that I should be thus miserable, and why have you embittered my life? Oh that I had been born in another country!”<sup>41</sup>

“Adieu, I fear to say too much of my misery: yet I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the desperation you have caused me, and loathe the tranquility in which I lived before I knew you. Adieu, my love increases every minute! Ah, how many things I have to tell you!”<sup>42</sup>

Realism of external detail and straightforwardness of narration were familiar to writers of short tales, but when it came to the expression of emotion, they borrowed the language of romance or resorted to cynical grossness. These *Letters*, the first example of realism of emotional detail, came at the psychological moment to exert the greatest influence. There already existed a taste for sentimentalism of an artificial reflective sort, or the Greek and heroic romances, the tragi-comedies and heroic plays would never have been so popular. Likewise there existed the taste for self-analysis, for egoistical enjoyment in recounting one's own experiences with the minutest detail, as the diaries of Pepys and Evelyn amply testify.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, the *Letters* came at the high-tide of the revulsion of feeling against the visionary ideals and poetic language of the Hôtel de Rambouillet on the one hand, and against the high thinking and plain living of the Puritans on the other, in favor of life in the raw—robustness, passion, and at its worst, immoral license in word and deed. The English edition of 1678 was followed by those of 1681, 1693, 1694 and 1716, by several renderings in verse, additions, replies, various imitations, and

<sup>39</sup> P. 75.

<sup>40a</sup> P. 106.

<sup>40</sup> P. 104.

<sup>41</sup> P. 86.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Burr, *The Autobiography*, pp. 182-184.

a version of the *Letters of Abelard and Heloise*<sup>43</sup> (1722). Such close copies as Mrs. Manley's *Letters in imitation of those by a Portuguese Nun* (1696), *Letters of Love and Gallantry, including the Adventures of a Young Lady, by Herself, in several Letters to a Young Gentleman in the Country, and the Nun's Letter to the Monk, with other passionate letters that passed between both sexes in town and country* (1693) and such variations as *The Love-letters between a Nobleman and his Sister: . . . under the borrowed names of Philander and Silvia* (1734) call for no comment. A curious sequel appeared in a collection called *The Lining of the Patch-work Screen* by Mrs. Jane Barker (1726).<sup>44</sup>

How great an effect these *Letters* had on the cult of sentiment would be interesting to determine. For France, Professor Waldberg has collected some interesting statistics showing that it was quite the fashion to write "à la Portugaise,"<sup>45</sup> but I have not met with such specific instances in

<sup>43</sup> The *Letters of Abelard and Heloise* were put forth in a Latin edition in 1616 and translated very freely into French about 1675 and again by Bussy Rabutin in 1695. In these and contemporary versions the translators altered the originals to make them resemble the *Portuguese Letters*. The English versions to the present day are based on the French translations instead of the Latin originals.

"The author states that shortly after the publication of the *Letters*, it was reported that a Sister long ill had escaped from the nunnery, and that on the night of her flight a fire occurred in the cell of "her of the Portuguese Letters," and a corpse, burned beyond recognition, having been found there, it was presumed she had taken that way of leaving the world. This the author goes on to explain was a mistake: as a matter of fact, the sick nun had died and Marianne (whose letters had brought back her recreant lover) had put the corpse in her bed and set fire to the room in order to cover her own elopement. The two lovers lived happily for several years. Then the man died, and Marianne and her children were left destitute, for she was debarred from her inheritance and the children, since their parents were not legally married, could not inherit their father's estate. Whereupon follows a long discourse on the just punishment of sinners. In *Casa Braccio*, by F. Marion Crawford (New York, 1895), a nun's elopement is accomplished by this same device.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Waldberg, *Der empfindsame Roman in Frankreich*, pp. 45-122. "Si je le faisois réponse sur le même ton, ce seroit une portuguaise," from the Letter of Madame de Sévigné to her daughter, July 19, 1671. II. 284, ed. 1867. Quoted on p. 81. Later romanticists, such as Goethe, were much impressed by the *Letters*.

England, although the correspondence of Mrs. Behn was evidently in imitation of them. Their influence on the expression of sentiment is noticeable in the tragic pathos of Otway's *Orphan* (1680), and *Venice Preserved* (1682), in the dramas of Southerne, to a less extent in those of Rowe, and in such poems as Pope's *Eloisa to Abelard* (1717). Language, which in the original had the force of sincerity, was put in the mouth of every heroine, so that before long this hysterical self-abandonment became almost as much of a convention as the preciosity of the romances. With the eighteenth century came a reaction against both this violence and this immorality, in a desire to make manners and morals conform to certain well-established rules. The attempt to adjust the unrestrained expression of passion to the "prunes, prisms, and proprieties" of middle-class London resulted in that sentimental didacticism of which Richardson is the great exponent.

Equally great and more obvious than the bearing of these letters on the growth of sentiment, was their influence on the rise of the letter as a narrative form.<sup>46</sup> The form was not a complete innovation, for letters were a common device in the romances, and polite society had long been amusing itself composing elegant epistles;<sup>47</sup> but these, as Mr. Gosse points out, were the first to convey real emotion and as such they exerted an influence on letter-writers. More important in view of the development of narrative art, they were almost the first to reveal an entire story, certainly the first to enjoy a widespread popularity. Professor Waldberg has shown in detail how great an influence they exerted in France. So many imitations cannot be cited in England, but it is surely significant that, while before 1678, there were no novels in letter form, in the remaining years of the century, out of the score of original English works there were at least eight. A still further impetus was given to the letter form by its adoption for satire in the remarkably popular *Letters of*

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Waldberg, *Ibid.* Reynier, *Le Roman Sentimental avant l'Astrée*, ch. vi, p. 246, gives a list of erotic works in letter form before 1610.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Upham, *The French Influence in English Literature*, pp. 434-447, for a discussion of the vogue of Voiture, Balzac, "Orinda," Howell, and Loveday.

a *Turkish Spy*,<sup>48</sup> which enjoyed numerous English editions. From that time dates the vogue of the pseudo-letter which was utilized for descriptions, character-sketches, gossip, political discussion, and narratives.

All the influences mentioned in this chapter—the Spanish novel of the Cloak and Sword, the French story of contemporary scandal, the Narrative Comedy, and the passion of the *Portuguese Letters* are reflected in the vigorous work of the buoyant Mrs. Behn.

#### APHRA BEHN<sup>49</sup>

The life and work of the “admirable Astrea,” as Mrs. Behn was universally called, has received such careful and adequate treatment by Professor Siegel that the present writer need only summarize his conclusions and elaborate somewhat Mrs. Behn’s relationship to the influences so far discussed, and her relative position in the development of fiction. Of her parentage and early life, we know practically nothing more than that in 1650, when the little Aphra was about ten, she, with the rest of the family, accompanied her father, one John Johnson, to Surinam, whither he had been sent as Lord Lieutenant of the Barbadoes. As he died on the way out, the family very shortly returned, but how deep an impression was made on the mind of the future novelist may be gathered from her many references to the Indies and particularly from her most notable

<sup>48</sup> The first English edition, *Letters writ by a Turkish Spy, who liv’d five and forty years . . . at Paris: giving an Account . . . of the most remarkable transactions of Europe . . . from 1637 to 1682*, appeared in 1687, and is now conceded to be a somewhat modified translation by T. S. Midgley, Wm. Bradshaw, Dr. Manley and others from *L’Espion Turc*, by G. P. Marana, Paris, 1684, 1685, 1686, and Amsterdam, 1687. The remaining three books appeared first in London, due, it is said, to complications about the printing. Later there were numerous pseudo-continuations. Some idea of the popularity of the work may be gathered from the fact that it reached its twenty-sixth edition in 1770.

<sup>49</sup> *Aphra Behn’s Gedichte und Prosawerke*, P. Siegel. *Anglia*, xxv, pp. 86 sq., and 329 sq. Separately printed, New York and Halle, 1901.

*The Plays, Histories and Novels of Mrs. Aphra Behn. With Life and Memoirs.* Published by Mr. Charles Gildon. Six volumes. London, 1871. Reprinted from the 1705 edition, itself revised from the 1696 edition.

novel, *The History of the Royal Slave, or Oroonoko*. She married, when little more than a girl, a Mr. Behn, a Dutch merchant resident in London, who, however, lived only a few years. His death deprived his widow of her only means of support and forced her to make the most of her talents to amuse the court, where her vivacity and good looks had already won her favor. The King, taking advantage of her Dutch connections, sent her to Holland as a spy in 1666-67, and, had his ministers put more faith in her advices, the English might have been spared the shame of having the fleet burned in the Medway. While in Holland, Mrs. Behn became engaged to another Dutchman, the "Vander Albert" of the letters, who, to quote her first biographer, "on his way to make all things ready for his voyage to England and matrimony died of a fever." The "fair Astrea" devoted the rest of her life to "pleasure and Poetry," or rather to the labor of supporting herself by her pen, for from 1671, the date of her first play, until her death in 1691 she wrote in many fields:—poetry, drama, fiction, besides translating Latin classics like Ovid, French novels, and such semi-scientific works as Fontenelle's *Theory of Several New Inhabited Worlds . . . lately Discovered*.

Only her prose narratives, in the eyes of the author and her contemporaries the least important part of her work, are of interest to us. The three series of letters, two elaborate "conceits" from the French, and seven novels are all contained within the limits of two small volumes. Two sets of letters concern her adventures in Holland; one being a burlesque correspondence between an admirer and herself, the other being a vivid account of her experiences and observations. In the latter occur the earliest attempts at narration, and in them, particularly in the story of the two young rakes, who by playing on their miserly old father's fear of ghosts, terrify him into yielding them his money and retiring to a monastery, may be found the manner and spirit of her later works almost as perfected as in *The King of Bantam* or *Oroonoko*. The third series of letters, known as *The Love-Letters to a Gentleman*, are entirely different in tone and style

—a difference due, it seems to me, to the influence of the *Portuguese Letters*. The exact date of Mrs. Behn's letters is uncertain, but as there is a reference to "my new play," they must obviously have been written as late as 1671, when her first play appeared. Even if they were written in the year of the play, the French edition of the *Letters of a Portuguese Nun* had preceded them by at least two years. The influence of the latter may be traced in the likeness of situation, tone, and style. The situation, that of a woman trying to retain the love of a luke-warm lover by revealing the strength of her own passion, is practically unique in the writings of Mrs. Behn. The only apparent exceptions are *The Fair Jilt* and the subsidiary story of "the injured and forsaken Elvira" in *The Nun*, and upon closer examination these prove quite different. The heroine in the *Fair Jilt* tries to arouse a passion and fails, but she is not deserted, and her love becomes no abject devotion, but a violent hate. Furthermore, she soon shifts her affection to one of her numerous adorers, and even the unappreciative monk to whom she was first attached, appreciates the "honour done him" and writes to her "with all the profound respect imaginable." Elvira's case is more nearly in point, but Mrs. Behn took no pains to elaborate Elvira's feelings or to show that she tried to win back her lover. Moreover, in the somewhat similar instances, as in the rest of her work, Mrs. Behn held to the Platonic formulas. In the grossest of her stories the heroes and heroines employ the decadent preciosity which had been popularized in such pieces as *Lycidas*,<sup>50</sup> *The Lover's Watch*, and *Lady's Looking-Glass*,<sup>51</sup> which she herself translated, so that the very different style in the *Letters to Lycidas* is all the more striking.

" Possibly you will wonder what compels me to write? What moves me to send where I find so little welcome; nay, where I meet with such returns: it may be I wonder too."<sup>51a</sup>

<sup>50</sup> From *Le Voyage de l'isle de l'Amour à Lycidas*, 1663–1664, trs. 1680.

<sup>51</sup> From *La Montre; par M. de Bonnecorse; à Cologne 1666; seconde partie contenant La Boîte et Le Miroir*. Paris, 1671.

<sup>51a</sup> Letter III, p. 58.

"Was that, my friend, was that the esteem you profess? Who grows cold first? Who is changed? And who the aggressor? 'Tis I was first in friendship and shall be last in constancy. Take your course; be a friend like a foe, and continue to impose upon me, that you esteem me when you fly me. Renounce your false friendship, or let me see you give it entire to  
Astrea."<sup>52</sup>

"You ought, Oh faithless and infinitely adorable Lycidas! to know and guess my tenderness; you ought to see it grow, and daily increase upon your hands. If it be troublesome, 'tis because I fancy you lessen. . . . Oh unlucky, oh vexatious thought! . . . Or, why make more words of tenderness, than another woman, that loves as well, would do, as you once said? . . . Farewell. I love you more and more every moment of my life. Know it, and Good-night."<sup>53</sup>

The difference between these letters and the rest of Mrs. Behn's work is usually explained on the ground that this was a more sincere attachment, and it is very possible that her love for Lycidas may have been real, but certainly in expressing herself she deliberately modelled her letters after those by the Portuguese Nun.

The seven novels, whether classified according to chronology or according to genre, fall into the same three groups: humorous stories, "histories" based on observed facts, and novels of the cloak and sword order. As has just been pointed out, the earliest attempts at prose narrative are in the letters retailing gossip, and are amusing anecdotes preparing directly for such a piece as *The Little Black Lady*<sup>54</sup> which appeared in 1663 and is presumably her earliest novel. It is a witty description of the many humorous mishaps that befel a most unsophisticated little brunette when she visited London. As in many of these stories of the French order, we feel that the author originally read it aloud, and that, bright as it is, we lose something by knowing it only from the printed page. This is less true of Mrs. Behn's next narrative *The King of Bantam*,<sup>55</sup> though that also is in

<sup>52</sup> Letter II, pp. 64-5.

<sup>53</sup> Letter VIII, pp. 84-5.

<sup>54</sup> *The Adventure of the Black Lady*, vol. ii. *Histories and Novels, or Complete Works*, vi. 325-336.

<sup>55</sup> *The Court of the King of Bantam*, *Complete Works*, vi. 292-324. The date is uncertain, but the story must have been written before the death of

the conversational French manner. The plot is much more elaborate, the characters sharply contrasted, and the general style and method those of the narrative comedies.

Sir Philip Friendly, by taking advantage of the Twelfth Night custom of choosing a mock king and queen, tricked a foolish fop, Would-be King, into bestowing a round sum on his (Friendly's) mistress, and on his niece a fortune sufficiently large to permit her to marry her lover.

From the point of view of structure and style this is Mrs. Behn's best novel; in cleverness, extravagance, and comic force it challenges comparison with the best Restoration comedies. The local color given by the names of Whitehall and Charing-Cross, the seeming endeavor to be accurate, and the raciness of the style obscure its close relationship to contemporary French fiction, yet these very characteristics are imitated from the Parisian stories.<sup>56</sup>

"This money certainly is a most devilish thing! I'm sure the want of it had like to have ruined my dear Philabella, in her love to Valentine Goodland."<sup>57</sup>

"When he was in town, he lived—let me see! in the Strand; or, as near as I can remember, somewhere about Charing-Cross; where, first of all Mr. Would-be-King, a gentleman of a large estate in houses, land and money, of a haughty, extravagant, and profuse humor, very fond of every new face, had the misfortune to fall passionately in love with Philabella, who then lived with her uncle."<sup>58</sup>

Mrs. Behn did not again appear as a writer of fiction until 1688, in which year she published her two so-called histories.

Charles II, since this passage occurs: "Indeed I don't hear that his Majesty King Charles II ever sent an ambassador to compliment him; though possibly, he saluted him by his title . . . for, you know, he is a wonderful goodnatured and well-bred Gentleman" (p. 313).

In *Spectator*, 557, June 21, 1714, there is a reference to a letter as "written in King Charles II's reign, by the Ambassador of Bantam."

<sup>56</sup> As, for example, such translations as *The Gentleman-Apothecary, Being a Late and True Story*, 1670; *The Husband Forc'd to be Jealous*, 1668; *The Disorders of Bassett*, 1688; *The Crafty Lady, or the Rival of Himself*, 1683.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 292.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 293.

Of these *The History of the Royal Slave; or, Oroonoko*<sup>59</sup> is the better known. The author lays great stress on the fact that she is chronicling events and not writing a romance:

"I do not pretend, in giving you the History of this Royal Slave, to entertain my reader with the adventures of a feigned hero, whose life and fortunes fancy may manage at the poet's pleasure; nor in relating the truth, design to adorn it with any accidents, but such as arrived in earnest to him."<sup>60a</sup>

The plot therefore is biographical, but is nevertheless composed of two distinct parts; the first deals with Oroonoko's life in his native land and particularly concerns his love affair with Imoinda, the second recounts his kidnapping and his adventures in Surinam. The first, Mrs. Behn fabricated, the second she witnessed. Nothing could show more clearly than the first part her lack of real imaginative power; her negro court is a combination of Restoration licentiousness and the luxuriousness of the pseudo-Oriental romances. The second part has all the interest of a sensational incident reported by a keen and able eye-witness. With contagious zest, she describes Oroonoko's appearance, his manners, and behavior, tells us what he said, what he did, what she thought of him, and what the other people thought, yet always keeps us in sympathy with the hero. Her hold on her readers, like that of Defoe, comes first of all from her own earnestness. In form and style *Oroonoko* is inferior to its predecessors, there is more extraneous material, and a tendency to rant in the moments of emotional stress, but the tone is so much higher and the subject so interesting that *Oroonoko* justly ranks as the author's masterpiece. It is frequently referred to as the first humanitarian novel and as a forerunner of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, but it is more than doubtful if Mrs. Behn

<sup>59</sup> *The History of the Royal Slave; or, Oroonoko. Complete Works*, vol. v. The plot, briefly stated, relates the kidnapping of Oroonoko and Imoinda into slavery; their reunion and marriage in Surinam, and the ill treatment and final revolt of Oroonoko, culminating in his murder of his wife, Imoinda, and his own execution.

It was dramatized as *Oroonoko; a tragedy*, by Southern in 1696, and as *Victorious Love* by William Walsh in 1698.

<sup>60a</sup> v. 75.

was trying to arouse sentiment against slavery. Abuse of the slaves she certainly denounced, but, as in the case of Defoe, there is nothing in her discussion to indicate that she thought they, as a race, ought to be free, or that she thought such inferiors could be anything but slaves.<sup>59b</sup> Oroonoko was an exceptional case. She had come in contact with his personality and her sympathy had been aroused. Moreover, it should be remembered that Oroonoko is no ordinary negro, but a king and a hero from romance. The brutal murder of Imoinda and the stoical endurance of torture is the conduct of a savage, and in those passages Mrs. Behn was depending upon her observations; but, generally speaking, Oroonoko conducts himself with the propriety of those heroes of romance who were enslaved by the piratical Moslems.

"The most famous statuary could not form the figure of a man more admirably turned from head to foot. His face was not of that brown rusty black which most of that nation are, but a perfect ebony, or polished jet . . . His nose was rising and Roman, instead of African and flat; his mouth the finest shaped that could be seen, far from those great turned lips, which are so natural to the rest of the Negroes. The whole proportion and air of his face was so nobly and exactly formed, that bating his colour, there could be nothing in Nature more beautiful, agreeable and handsome."<sup>60</sup>

"He had an extreme good and graceful mien, and all the civility of a well-bred Great Man. He had nothing of barbarity in his Nature, but in all points addressed himself as if his education had been in some European court."<sup>60a</sup>

Closely connected with the heroic mould of Oroonoko is the conception of the ideal man as the good savage. Mrs. Behn introduced this character into fiction, and no doubt had much to do with popularizing the idea.<sup>60b</sup> It was, however, well disseminated at this time, for it was a current Hobbism and had

<sup>59b</sup> Cf. Oroonoko's denunciation of his confederates, "by nature slaves." p. 181.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87.

<sup>60a</sup> P. 86.

<sup>60b</sup> Oroonoko was translated into German in 1709 and into French in 1745, and in both countries was dramatized.

already been finely phrased by Dryden in *The Conquest of Granada* (1672) :

“But know, that I alone am king of me.  
I am as free as nature first made man,  
Ere the base laws of servitude began,  
When wild in woods the noble savage ran.” Act I, sc. i.

*The Fair Jilt*, having more commonplace material, has received less attention, yet it is better constructed, and, from the point of view of characterization, more interesting.<sup>61</sup> As in *Oroonoko* great stress is laid on the absolute fidelity of the author to the facts, and again the story is biographical.

Miranda was a beautiful flirt who lived, at the beginning of the narrative, in a religious house in Amsterdam. She fell in love with a young priest who repelled all her advances, whereupon the angry lady charged him with trying to seduce her and had him committed to prison. There she left him to languish while she carried on her flirtations and was wooed and won by a rich traveller who went by the name of Prince Tarquin. Time went on; and the extravagant ways of the young couple soon used up their fortune. To get more money, Miranda determined to have her younger sister murdered, and for this purpose worked first upon the love of a youthful admirer, and then upon that of her doting husband. Both failed to kill the girl, but being detected in the attempt, were caught, condemned, and sentenced to death. The boy died, but by a slip on the part of the headsman and the connivance of a friendly crowd, Tarquin, though severely wounded, managed to escape. He was finally pardoned and returned to his native land, where he was joined by his still adored and now penitent wife, who had secured her own release by confessing all her nefarious practices and clearing the long-suffering friar.

The heroine is so consistently and inhumanly villainous that she fails to be interesting, but the hero, who could love her through all the ills he endured on her account and finally could take her to his old father as the woman who had saved him from an ignominious death, is an unusual and original

<sup>61</sup> *The Fair Jilt; or, the Amours of Tarquin and Miranda. Complete Works*, v. 201-87. The exact date is unknown, but the phrase . . . “in the time when our King Charles of blessed memory, was in Brussels, in the last year of his banishment,” puts it after 1685. There is an advertisement in the *Term Catalogues* for T. Tonson, Michaelmas, 1678, which strongly suggests the first part of the story, *The Amorous Convert; being a true relation of what happened in Holland*.

type. Curiously enough, in drawing this magnanimous character, Mrs. Behn did not think of him as fine and noble, but on the contrary, regarded him as a foolish victim of "the force of love." As in the old *novelle* there is no sympathy for the cheated. In this novel, even more than in the others, we find those little devices for producing a realistic effect which we are prone to regard as peculiar to Defoe. Take, for instance, the accurate description of the crowd of by-standers who "scrambled for some of the bloody saw-dust, to keep for his memory," or that of Tarquin preparing for execution:

"and undressing himself with the help of his valet and page, he pulled off his coat, and had underneath a white satin waistcoat; he took off his periwig, and put on a white satin cap, with a Holland one done with point under it, which he pulled over his eyes."

Most "Defoeian" of all is the last sentence: "Since I began this Relation, I heard that Prince Tarquin died about three-quarters of a year ago." Such phrases as these explain Macaulay's astonishing statement that *Moll Flanders*, *Roxana*, and *Colonel Jack* were "in no respect . . . beyond the reach of Afra Behn."<sup>61a</sup>

The novels of the cloak and sword, which compose the third group, of Mrs. Behn's fiction are three in number. The first, *The History of Agnes de Castro, or the Force of Generous Love*,<sup>62</sup> came out in 1688, and was followed the next year by *The Nun; or, The Perjured Beauty*,<sup>63</sup> a tale of false friends, lying lovers, duels, and mistaken identities, ending in the death of all the participants. About the same time was written *The Lucky Mistake*, a story of crossed loves, obdurate parents, and steadfast devotion, in which everything comes out right in the end and everybody lives happily forever after. Though the least powerful, it is decidedly the prettiest and purest of Mrs. Behn's novels.

<sup>61a</sup> Cf. *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, ed. Trevelyan, 1876, II. 385.

<sup>62</sup> Mrs. Behn's version of *Agnès de Castro, Nouvelle Portugaise*, par J. B. de Brilhac, Amsterdam, 1685, appeared in *Modern Novels*, vol. iv, and was dramatized in 1696 by Mrs. Catherine Trotter.

<sup>63</sup> *History of the Nun, or, the Faire Vow-Breaker*, was the title of the first edition, 1689.

In these seven narratives, Mrs. Behn passed, for she can scarcely be said to have progressed, from humorous anecdotes of actual experience, to sensational, journalistic and supposedly true accounts of episodes which she had witnessed, and from these to deliberately fictitious stories in the Spanish manner. Her first attempts at fiction, which, as has been said are in the letters, resemble the first two groups and are almost as artistically perfect as the later and longer examples. To speak paradoxically, there is no "art" in any of them, which does not mean no artifice. At literary trickery, Mrs. Behn was an adept, but she never worked according to principles or selected and arranged her material to produce certain results and large effects. In common with most clever men and women of her gossip-loving generation, she possessed the gift of "telling a good story," and circumstances forced her to develop this gift. Very naturally, she imitated the popular French stories from contemporary life, substituting for the continental material the experiences of her own circle of acquaintances, and for the indescribable "esprit," a flashy impudence. Yet she never progressed beyond the conversational and episodic stage. She elaborated episodes at length, she combined them, she connected them by bits of description, but she never completely merged them into one large plot. When relating incidents that had not come within the range of her observation, or analyzing emotions or expressing passion, she borrowed from the romances or current love-letters. Her interests were rather narrow and vulgar, her imaginative range was limited to matters of detail, she had no sense of mystery, and no conscience either moral or æsthetic; but, as a compensation for so many limitations, she possessed keen powers of observation, a strong personality, a racy style, and the trick of producing verisimilitude, which with her unusual experiences have given her a reputation for originality. Original in the sense of creative, Mrs. Behn was not, but she knew how to make the most of what was at her command. She was a woman of strong feelings and of amazing vigor, all of which she threw into her work without the least restraint. The personal element is what makes her work so readable, for her vulgarity and gross

immorality are almost counter-balanced by her buoyancy and robust common sense. All her work is enlivened by a dash and impudence that give snap and life to her colloquial slipshod style. It was just such vigor, just such vivid style that English fiction needed, and it is for these more than for any originality, more even than for the accident of *Oroonoko*, that she deserves a place in the history of the English novel.

Mrs. Behn was succeeded by Mrs. Mary de la Rivi re Manley who possessed most of her vices and few of her virtues.

#### MARY DE LA RIVI RE MANLEY<sup>64</sup>

Of Mrs. Manley's life we know even less than of that of Mrs. Behn, for our chief source of information is her own "account of her life and times," which contains more fiction than fact. We do know, however, that she was born in 1673, and lived most of her disreputable life in and about London, supporting herself by writing scurrilous articles, indecent plays, and scandalous stories. Her father, Sir Roger Manley, was associated in some mysterious way with the *Turkish Spy*,<sup>65</sup> so that Mrs. Manley may be said to have been predisposed in favor of pseudo-historical compilations of political and social gossip. There is, so far as I know, no careful bibliography of her works, some of which were, very wisely, printed anonymously. The first of her productions to appear was her "letters" in 1696. In 1705, appeared an attack on the Duchess of Portsmouth, under the title *The Secret History of Queen Zarah and the Zarazians*, a conglomeration of tales of intrigue and personal scandal, generally attributed to her, to which additions were printed in 1711 and a key in 1712. This is the earliest example of this species of romance in English. In 1709, she published the notorious *Secret Memoirs and Manners of several Persons of both sexes from the New Atalantis* in which she combined the secret-memoir and the ideal commonwealth. For this scandalous attack on the Whigs, she was arrested, and not discharged until 1710. So popular had it proved, however, that Mrs. Manley was induced to write continuations under

<sup>64</sup> Cf. G. A. Aitken in D. N. B.

<sup>65</sup> *Infra*, p. 106.

various titles. The next year, 1710, in the *Memoirs of Europe towards the close of the eighth century*. Written by *Eginhardus, Secretary and Favorite to Charlemagne*, she varied her presentation of scandal by using an historical setting. These *Memoirs* were dedicated to "Isaac Bickerstaff," i. e. R. Steele, whom she had attacked in the *New Atalantis*.<sup>65a</sup> In 1714 appeared *The Adventures of Rivella; or the History of the author of the Atalantis with secret memoirs and characters of several considerable Persons her contemporaries*, which was reissued for the fourth time in 1724, as *Mrs. Manley's History of her Life and Times*. In addition to these narratives Mrs. Manley may have written *Bath-Intrigues*<sup>65b</sup> published posthumously in 1725, and a collection of short stories which were printed under the title of *The Power of Love in Seven Novels*.

The eight *Letters to a Friend*, or *A Stage-Coach Journey to Exeter. Describing the Humours of the Road with the Characters and Adventures of the Company*, as it was reprinted in 1725, is her most entertaining work. The journey is but a framework for stories of intrigue and formal "characters." The accounts of disgusting amours told by the beau and the sea-captain no longer divert us, but the attention is still held by the vivid picture of the journey, of the inns, of the customs of the road, and of the travellers,—the "impertinent beau," the hearty sea-captain, the prude, and last, but not least, the lively Mrs. Manley herself. In this narrative the style is on the whole, far superior to that in the novels, the secret histories, or the love-letters, although it must be admitted that even at her worst, Mrs. Manley is seldom dull.

*The Adventures of Rivella, Delivered in a conversation to the Young Chevalier d'Aumont in Somerset House Gardens by Sir Charles Lovemore*<sup>65c</sup> which appeared in 1714, is generally supposed to be autobiographical and may have been so in part. It shows considerable skill, and in spite of its scandalous char-

<sup>65a</sup> In the *Tatler* (No. 63), she was attacked by Swift, but later he spoke kindly of her and when she succeeded him as editor of the *Examiner* assisted her with several articles. In *Atalantis Major*, (1711) generally attributed to Defoe, the usefulness of the *New Atalantis* is sarcastically commented upon.

<sup>65b</sup> See bibliography under 1625.

<sup>65c</sup> Sir John Tidcomb.

acter possesses certain romantic features. The central story, that of a poor girl who refused to marry her lover when she discovered that he could marry a rich woman, has idealistic possibilities, and the "Portraits" of Rivella and her friends are quite in the manner of such romance heroines as Sappho and Clelia, while in the use of specific details Mrs. Manley suggests Defoe.

*Bath-Intrigues* is an Hogarthian sketch of the famous resort during "the season," in the manner of the sketches of London by Ned Ward and Tom Brown. Of the seven novels in *The Power of Love* four are redactions of stories in Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*<sup>66</sup> and it is highly probable that the remaining three, together with the novels in her other works, could be traced to the same or a similar source. Mrs. Manley condensed the originals by substituting a direct style for Painter's lengthy periods, but otherwise she made no changes either in manner or method; indeed, she did not so much as change the names of the characters. Mrs. Manley never seems to have been interested in the motivation of her characters or the interpretation of her facts. In the *New Atalantis*, for example, there is material for many long novels of the Richardsonian type but she contented herself with telling what happened and how it happened, in a clear, concise, yet circumstantial manner. Take the story of Zara and Mosco: he had ceased to care for her, but she, like the poor Portuguese Nun, continued to "importune him with passionate appeals," until, in desperation he resolved to "break with her absolutely." He invited her to take a walk at twilight, they quarrelled, and she fell in the brook and was drowned—committed suicide, he said. As Mrs. Manley tells the story, we understand the situation perfectly, we can fairly see the orchard and the

<sup>66</sup> My attention was first called to Mrs. Manley's relationship to Painter by a note in the dissertation of Dr. Utter (*Studies in the Origins of the English Novel*, p. 150), to the effect that *The Wife's Resentment* is Painter's forty-second novel, *Didaco and Violenta*; the first of the two stories bearing the name of *The Husband's Resentment* Painter's forty-third, *Of a Lady of Thurin*; and *The Happy Fugitives*, his forty-fourth, *Almeranc and Adelesia*. Subsequently I found *The Fair Hypocrite* to be Painter's forty-fifth, the well-known *Duchess of Savoy*.

brook, but we do not understand either Zara or Mosco. Or again, take the story of Mosco's brother Hernando, who, although married, ruined his ward by inducing her to enter into a "bigamous marriage" with him; and then, tiring of her, left her "to die of a broken heart." Here we are given a little more information: we learn Hernando had been married against his will by his father and had never loved his wife, and further, that he had carefully corrupted the mind of the youthful Louisa by his evil teachings. But all this information is given in an unsympathetic, objective manner. There is no sympathy, none of Mrs. Haywood's morbid pity, nor, on the other hand, is there any moral censure. In short, Mrs. Manley had neither the independence nor the power of Mrs. Behn, and her work is on the whole a harking back to the older type of novel or a lively relation of current scandal, which derives whatever value it may possess from its closeness to actuality. Mrs. Manley's successor, Mrs. Haywood, dealt with very similar material and often in much the same spirit and manner, but the change of temper which marked the opening of the eighteenth century, together with some new literary influences, is reflected in her work and may appropriately be treated in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER III

### THE NOVEL (1700-1740)

It will be recalled that in the introduction considerable emphasis was laid upon the change of taste that took place in the early years of the eighteenth century, and that this change was attributed to the reaction against the flagrant immorality, the license, and the harsh realism of the later Stuart period and to the contemporary rise in social and literary importance of the upper bourgeoisie. Propriety and compromise became the watchwords of a generation which, animated not by religious zeal but by weariness of the prevailing abuses, wished to make life purer and pleasanter. The ideal thus created was objective and ethical, making its appeal not through the imagination but the intellect; it was a morality neither lofty nor inspiring but eminently practical. People were not concerned with spiritual theories or moral problems, but with conduct, the practice of morality in all the affairs of life. The formulation of this ideal may be studied to best advantage in the social treatises or conduct-books, which had in many ways an important bearing on the development of the novel.

Throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries these books were very numerous, and between 1600 and 1740 there must have been several hundred. The *Courtier* of Castiglione and *The Prince* of Machiavelli, which treat on a grand scale the ideal courtier and the ideal ruler, belong to the earlier Renaissance, and as early as 1600 had been superseded by the more detailed treatises concerning the gallant and the lady of the French salons.<sup>1</sup> A very few of these works were concerned with character as well as manners, a good many were controversial pamphlets concerning the feminist

<sup>1</sup> As *The Honour of the Ladies*, Abraham Darcy, 1622; *The Gallery of Heroic Women*, from the French of John Poulet, 1652.

movement,<sup>2</sup> but by far the larger number were formal manuals of etiquette in which could be found specific directions for conducting a conversation, for entering a room, for pursuing a Platonic courtship, and for writing letters on all occasions.<sup>3</sup> Various devices such as the "character," the dialogue, and the pseudo-letter,<sup>4</sup> were utilized to set forth this information, and in all cases the illustrative story was used to advantage. The advice thus given was always concrete and specific and based upon the usage of such literary assemblies as the *Hôtel de Rambouillet* and such English imitations as the circle of the "matchless Orinda." With the eighteenth century a great change came over these social treatises. In the first place, the select coteries no longer existed, and the ideal had to be adapted to the needs of a much more general public. In the second place, the interest in practical morality led writers to treat as much of general questions of character and conduct as of questions of etiquette. The rules of good form were made dependent upon the principles of right living. The social treatises are not to be regarded as fiction, but they played a most important part in its development; indirectly, by setting up certain ideals to which the hero and heroine were made to conform, and directly, in the illustrative stories and model letters. In the eighteenth century these stories were greatly elaborated, and are in subject-matter and sentiment almost identical with the novel of manners. *The Family Instructor* and *Religious Courtship* of Defoe, *The Letters Moral and Entertaining* of Mrs. Rowe, the *Familiar Letters* of Richardson, the *Tatler*, the *Spectator*, and Mrs. Haywood's *Tea-Table* contain numerous novels in embryo, and *Pamela* it will be

<sup>2</sup> For ex., *Pleasant Quipes for Upstart Newfangled Gentlewomen*, by Stephen Gosson, 1596, *A Strange Wonder; or, a Wonder in a Woman*, etc., 1642, *The Woman as Good as the Man*, 1671, *Femina non est Homo*, by Holltse (F. H.), and Walsh (W.), 1678, *Dialogue concerning Women*, by W. Walsh, 1691, and the pamphlets of Mary Astell, c. 1700.

<sup>3</sup> Such as *Domestic Duties* by W. O. D. Gouge, *The Accomplish't Woman*, from the French, by Walter Montague, 1656, and *The English Hous-Wife*, by G. Markham, 1660.

<sup>4</sup> *The Lover's Secretary. . . . Being a collection of Billet-Doux, etc.*, 1692. *Familiar Letters of Love and Gallantry*, 1718. *The Perfect Serving Maid*, 1692.

remembered was "Published in order to cultivate the Principles of Virtue and Religion in the Minds of the Youth of Both Sexes."

#### THE DUCHESS OF NEWCASTLE<sup>4a</sup>

Some early examples of this type of literature are to be found among the works of Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle (1624?-1674). She was one of the most interesting personalities of the seventeenth century, and consequently her writings, though lacking in grace and literary finish, have a certain attraction. A strong-minded woman was the Duchess. She dressed as she pleased, wrote as she pleased, thought as she pleased and said what she pleased, in scornful, and one might say studied, defiance of fashion, convention, Mrs. Grundy, and the feelings of her friends. As she was not given to sentimentalizing or to self-analysis, she never had the least doubt as to what was right and what was wrong under any circumstances, and, once she perceived her duty, she performed it with all possible ostentation. Two weaknesses the good lady had: an unmitigated admiration for the stolid Duke of Newcastle, and an inordinate passion for fame. She took herself and her ambition with a seriousness and earnestness that give a life and vitality to her pedantic and amateur performances, lacking in the more polished, but artificial, productions of her contemporary, Mrs. Philips. Her own individuality with all its idiosyncrasies is impressed upon her twenty odd plays, her verse, her biography of the Duke of Newcastle, her autobiography, and the miscellaneous pieces of no particular genre which we are about to consider. Personally, I always feel that the Duchess was vaguely dissatisfied, that as Arnold said of Gray, though in a rather different sense, she "never spoke out," and that her innumerable prefaces to the reader, her awkward, learned style, and her attempts to write in all possible forms are due to a restless seeking for better self-expression.

*The World's Olio*, one of her earliest works (1655), con-

<sup>4a</sup> Cf. Article on "Margaret Cavendish" by J. Knight in D. N. B.

sists of a number of short essays on all sorts of subjects from the "Inferiority of Woman, morally and physically," to the "History of Language," the "Breeding of Children," "Courtship," "Hospitality," "Fame," and a criticism of "Penelope's indiscretion in allowing herself to be courted." Incidentally, there are numerous references to contemporary manners and morals and a very vivid picture of the Newcastle household, in which it is safe to assume that the Duchess, for all her theories on the subordination of woman, ruled with a rod of iron. The following year (1656) appeared *Nature's Pictures drawn by Fancie's Pencil to the Life*, with a frontispiece representing the family circle "Telling of tales of pleasure and of witt." We are told in one of the Prefaces that "There are several feigned stories of natural descriptions as comical, tragical, and tragi-comical, poetical, romantical, philosophical and historical both in prose and verse. . . . Also there are some morals and some dialogues . . . and a story at the latter end in which there is no feigning." And in another preface we are told that the purpose is "to present virtue, the muses leading her and the graces attending her, and to shew vice is seldom crowned with good fortune; and to defend innocency." But the stories are disappointing, being merely conventional romantic intrigues wrenched out of shape, so to speak, to afford a moral conclusion. For instance, there is the story of *Assaulted and Pursued Chastity*, in which a lady who had won a prince's affections declines his presents, shoots the too presumptuous suitor, and makes good her escape to a fantastic land, from which she returns at the head of some troops and finally marries the prince. In *The Ant and the Bee* and *Wit and Wisdom* are represented the fable and the moral tale.

*The CCXI Sociable Letters* of 1664, are much more interesting. As the Duchess explained in a preface, "They are rather scenes than letters, for I have endeavored under the cover of letters to express the Humours of Mankind and the actions of a man's life, by the correspondence of two ladies living at some short distance." The idea was capital and one which later writers used to good purpose, but the Duchess gives too little space to the characters and episodes and too

much to censorious moralizing. We have some very interesting situations, sketches which have great possibilities of development, as for example, the story of "the gentleman that married his kitchen-maid" and the account of a family quarrel "ensuing upon a lady's refusal to serve on her table her husband's favorite dish, vulgar roast-beef." But the Duchess left them undeveloped.

In the field of pure fiction her only contribution is a wild romance, *The Blazing World* (1665), in which she set forth, some truly astounding vagaries on the subject of physics. Her best narratives are the *Biography of the Duke of Newcastle*<sup>4a</sup> (1667) and her *Autobiography*<sup>4b</sup> (1656). In her great desire to present the exact facts, to prevent all possible misunderstanding by numerous details and careful explanation, there is a suggestion of the realism of the next generation.

#### MRS. ELIZABETH ROWE<sup>4c</sup>

Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe (1674-1737) belongs in many respects to the same school as the Duchess of Newcastle, but this well-bred lady would have been unutterably shocked by her plain-spoken predecessor. Mrs. Rowe undertook to inculcate principles of right living by means of sentimental piety. In 1728 appeared *Friendship in Death in twenty letters from the Dead to the Living*, in which the recently departed give their friends sound advice, timely warnings, and glowing accounts of heaven. There is nothing mysterious or even impressive about these ghosts, who are of the world, worldly. In fact, the *Letters* do not differ essentially from the superior, but less popular, *Letters Moral and Entertaining*, which appeared in three installments, in 1729, 1731 and 1733. In these epistles, supposedly written to intimate friends, we have some interesting stories told by one of the participants, usually the heroine.

<sup>4a</sup> *The Life of William Cavendish, Duke, Marquis, and Earl of Newcastle, Earl of Ogle, Viscount Mansfield and Baron of Bolsover, of Ogle, Bothal, and Hepple*, 1667, 2d ed. 1695.

<sup>4b</sup> *True Relation of the Birth, Breeding and Life of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, Written by Herself*. Appended to the first, but not the later, edition of *Nature's Pictures*.

<sup>4c</sup> Cf. Sidney Lee in the D. N. B.

There is no differentiation of character, very little subjective emotional analysis, and but slight variety in scenes and episodes. Most prominent among the stock themes is the story of a young woman who having retired to the country to recover from an unhappy passion was led by solitary meditation "to religion," and shortly thereafter, was wooed and wed by a worthy and devout young man, "a match far above her expectations." Then there is the story of the pious country maid who was preferred by the wealthy lord to the court beauties on the score of her "virtue." Also, there is the tale of the rake who was led to repent and to reform by his passion for a pious woman, and was rewarded for his improvement by winning her hand and her wealth. And finally, there occurs the story of the pious girl who fell into a decline after the death of her lover and soon joined him in immortality. The heroines are all sensitive, emotional beings, less sophisticated than Pamela, but not unmindful of the things of this world. In their cult of nature, morbid sensibility, and sentimental piety they are closely akin to the heroines of the Rousseau school and to the Elsie Dinsmore of our own day. The hero is the self-satisfied prig familiarized to us by Richardson and his successors.

The popularity of Mrs. Rowe's prose and verse was very great. Her *Friendship in Death* reached its third edition in 1733, its fifth in 1738, and was continuously printed until 1816. Her verse *History of Joseph*, first printed in 1736 was in its fourth edition in 1744, the *Devout Exercises of the Heart*, edited by her admiring friend Dr. Watts, in 1737, was many times reprinted until 1811. In 1739, appeared a collection of her *Miscellaneous Works in Prose and Verse*, which was reprinted in 1744, 1750, 1756, 1772, and several times thereafter, while as late as 1796, a still fuller collection was made. There were two French translations of *Friendship in Death*, one in 1740 and the other in 1753. Moreover, she was most highly esteemed by the literary men of the time. Prior was won by her slim volume of mildly sentimental verse, *Poems on Several Occasions*; issued in 1696. Dr. Isaac Watts wrote of "her divine poems," and Pope thought so highly of her elegy

on her husband that he appended it to the second edition of *Eloisa to Abelard* (1715). Klopstock and Wieland referred to "die göttliche Rowe," "die himmlische und fromme singer." Finally, Dr. Johnson (Boswell, I, 312), calls her the earliest English writer to apply with success 'the ornaments of romance to religion. The only writer who had made a like endeavour was Robert Boyle in the *Martyrdom of St. Theodora* and he failed.'

We find the themes and the sentiments of these *Letters* present, not only in other social treatises but also in the bourgeois tragedy and comedy, and in the many stories and sketches in such periodicals as the *Spectator*, *Tatler*, *Lover* and *Tea-Table*. In the writings of Steele and Addison we have the most perfect expression of the ideal of the age in its finest conception. There we find the perfect urbanity, the sound morality, the staid composure, and the mild sentimentality (well within the bounds of reason) to which all men aspired. "To instruct and to amuse" was the purpose of these papers, and to that end, the authors preached both directly and indirectly, told illustrative stories, and wrote "characters" typifying the various virtues and vices. The stories, without exception, are obviously didactic, and the authors showed much ingenuity and narrative skill in utilizing Oriental tales, in adapting picaresque stories and popular histories, and in turning to good account letters from pseudo-travellers and sketches from domestic life. In the *Sir Roger de Coverley Papers*, all that is needed is a plot to make a novel of manners, but it is the plot, the series of incidents, which is the essential feature of every narrative—the characters, the setting, the dialogue are important, but nevertheless, subordinate elements. The periodicals of the *Spectator* type were a most important factor in accelerating the development of the novel of daily life, not so much on the score of the narratives they contained, as because they afforded an opportunity for the publication of the short minor forms. Of the numerous devices which contributed to the novel we have already commented upon the memoir, the letter, and the social tract, but the "character" and the dialogue still call for a few words.

In the words of Professor Cross,<sup>5</sup> the character-sketch "as conceived by Ben Jonson and Thomas Overbury" (and we may add Joseph Hall) "who had before them a contemporary translation of Theophrastus, was a sketch of some person, real or imaginary, who embodied a virtue or a vice or some idiosyncrasy obnoxious to ridicule. One character was set over against another, and the sentences descriptive of each were placed in the antithesis which the style of Llyl had made fashionable." In other words, it was a device for attacking the "humours" of the age in light satiric spirit, and such it remained during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Shortly thereafter, it shared<sup>6</sup> with all other literary forms the fate of being utilized by theological and political controversialists. With the Restoration there was a return to lighter vein, and follies and foibles instead of vices and theories became the subject of attack. In the meantime, the expository, antithetical method was adopted by the romance writers in their perfectly serious portraits of individuals, and these in turn, modified the later development of the character-sketch. It was still further modified by being combined with the essay, the letter, and the memoir, by being set in a descriptive or narrative framework, and by being grouped with other "characters."<sup>7</sup> Practically every type of character-sketch can be found in the *Tatler* and *Spectator*; in them can be traced every stage of its development from the short, objective, impersonal "anatomy" of a type, to the sympathetic delineation of a typ-

<sup>5</sup> Cross, *Development of the English Novel*, p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> For ampler treatment of this subject consult H. Morley, *Character Writing of the Seventeenth Century*, Carisbrooke Library, 1891; C. S. Baldwin, "The Relation of the Seventeenth Century Character to the Periodical Essay," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass. of America*, 1903, xviii, and 1904, xix, and "Character Books of the Seventeenth Century in Relation to the Development of the Novel," *Western Reserve Bulletin*, Oct., 1900, and C. N. Greenough, *Studies in the Development of Character-Writing in England*, Unpublished Harvard Dissertation, 1904. Dr. Greenough is now revising his dissertation which he hopes to publish within a short time as *The Character in the series Types of Literature*.

<sup>7</sup> *Les Caractères de Théophraste traduits du Grec, avec les Caractères ou les Moeurs de ce siècle*, by J. de la Bruyère, Paris, 1688, and translated into English in 1708, was a particularly potent factor.

ical individual under many different circumstances. That the novelists learned much from the "characters," there can be not the least doubt. In the narratives of Mrs. Behn, Mrs. Manley, Mrs. Haywood, Richardson, Fielding, and their contemporaries, there are numerous formal "characters," and the method has survived in the novels of Scott and Dickens, and indeed has not died out to this day.

The dialogue, although for many years a favorite device in social tracts and news-pamphlets,<sup>7a</sup> was not so influential. During the Restoration the *Dialogues of Lucian* were in high favor and stimulated translations and imitations such as Tom Brown's *Dialogues of the Dead and the Living and the Dead*.<sup>8</sup> These in many ways suggest the *Imaginary Conversations* of Landor, and although they lack entirely the finesse, poetry, and exquisite phrasing of the latter, are by no means uninteresting and sometimes show not only a keen sense of the dramatic possibilities of the situation, and a lively sense of humour, but also a comprehension of the characters. Particularly good are the dialogues of "Dido and Stratonica," "Paracelsus and Molière," "Cortez and Montezuma," and "Mrs. Behn and a Young Actress." Better than any of these are Prior's four *Dialogues of the Dead*,<sup>9</sup> of which perhaps, the best is the dialogue between "Mr. John Locke and Seigneur de Montaigne" but the one between "the Vicar of Bray and Sir Thomas Moor" is a close rival. The characterization is admirable, and the style easy, natural, and witty. Swift's graphic *Polite Conversation* is a series of little scenes that might well have been presented on the stage. Novelists took lessons from such dialogues in handling conversations so that the speeches should be in character, and so that shades of meaning should be conveyed to the reader without editorial explanation.

While these contributory forms were being perfected, considerable progress was being made in modifying the narrative

<sup>7a</sup> As in Tutchin's *Dialogue between a Dissenter and the Observator concerning the Shortest Way with Dissenters*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Modern Novels*, vol. xii.

<sup>9</sup> See *Dialogues of the Dead and other Works in A. R. Waller, 1907.*

to suit the new social conditions, and to make it conform to the new moral standard. In the old *novelle* the merchants and their wives often figure, but the entire interest centers on the episode, the participants are fixed types. Moreover, the pseudo-classic canon of dramatic usage, that kings and princes alone were suitable subjects for tragedy, or in other words for serious treatment, was reflected in the contemporary romances by the exclusion, except in comic scenes, of all characters not of royal or at least gentle blood, and by the tendency to make comic all episodes and novels of intrigue in which the bourgeoisie figured. The serious and sympathetic portrayal of the life of the middle class was essential for the perfection of the novel of manners, and for that reason such early works of the kind as the mediocre "histories" of Mrs. Haywood, Mrs. Barker, and Mrs. Aubin deserve special comment.

#### MRS. ELIZA HAYWOOD<sup>10</sup>

We know very little about the facts of Mrs. Haywood's life. She was born about 1693, and like her predecessors, Mrs. Behn and Mrs. Manley, led a disreputable life in London until her death, in 1756. Like them, too, she incurred the hate of Pope, and it was in retaliation for his slanderous remarks that she published her *Female Dunciad* (1729). Likewise, she incurred the wrath of Swift, who described her as "the infamous scribbling woman." Scribble she certainly did, for in the thirty-six years from her first publication, about 1720, she wrote at least twenty novels, most of the contributions in the *Female Spectator*, some plays, some poems; she translated many things from the French, and she published much personal and political gossip. It is on the fiction, however, that her small claim to fame rests. The exact date of the publication of many of her works is unknown, but it seems highly probable that the pseudo-histories like *The Memoirs of a Certain Island Adjacent*

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Sidney Lee, D. N. B. No detailed and careful work upon Mrs. Haywood has been written and her bibliography is in a most bewildering state. Some of her works have been lost, others are extant only in what purport to be second or third editions, while her political pamphlets are more or less confused with those of Defoe and other writers.

to *Utopia* (1725), and the *Secret History of the Present Intrigues of the Court of Caramania* (1727), came early in her literary career. The short novel of intrigue, somewhat on the cloak and sword order, was always a favorite with Mrs. Haywood, and her name is usually associated with such licentious stories as *Lassellia, or, the Self-Abandoned*; *The Rash Resolve*; *The Fatal Secret, or, Constancy in Distress*; and *The British Recluse*. These novels differ from those by Mrs. Behn only in being less brilliant and in exhibiting an unhealthy pathos. But Mrs. Haywood by no means confined herself to such tales: she followed the fashion of the *Portuguese Letters* in *Letters of a Lady of Quality to a Chevalier* (1724), of the Oriental and didactic stories in *The Adventures of Evaii, princess of Ijaveo* (1736),<sup>11</sup> and in later life she closely imitated Richardson in *A Present for a Serving-Maid* (1741), and less directly in her best novels, *The History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless* (1751), and *Jenny and Jessamy* (1753), while the *Epistles for the Ladies* (1749–50) show the influence of Mrs. Rowe. Yet long before the publication of *Pamela*, Mrs. Haywood had made considerable progress in the sympathetic recital of the conduct and emotions of ordinary men and women under trying, and unusual, but still plausible conditions of domestic life. *Idalia; or, the Unfortunate Mistress* which appeared in 1723 or thereabouts, suggests in its opening scenes *Clarissa Harlowe*.

The beautiful wilful Idalia, annoyed by her father's prohibiting her to communicate with the attractive rake Florez, secretly corresponds with him, and becomes involved in an amour without really caring for the man. He lures her to his house and there betrays her to his lord. Other men become involved. One of them seizes the helpless victim and carries her off to a lonely country place, and there, Part I, concludes. Part II is quite different, in fact, it is a wild romance, in which the heroine, while eloping from the said country house, is seized by robbers and separated from her lover. Her career is then not unlike that of a Greek heroine, for she wanders over all Europe, is captured by pirates who tell her Oriental tales, and finally, after a chapter of misfortunes, discovers her quondam lover living happily with his wife. At this point the author returns to realism

<sup>11</sup> Reprinted in 1741 as *The Unfortunate Princess; or, the Ambitious Statesman*.

and affectingly describes the perplexity of the man and the grief of the two women, the wife's attempt to poison both her husband and her rival, and Idalia's forbearance. The Pope, being called upon to settle the matter, decides that both women shall enter nunneries.

Part I is decidedly the better and is really remarkable for the elaborate and sympathetic analysis of Idalia's feelings and behavior. In 1726, Mrs. Haywood progressed still further in *The Mercenary Lover*,<sup>11a</sup> reprinted with the *Padlock* in 1728. In the first, we have the story of the ruin of a pure-minded girl by the deliberate machinations of a bland villain, followed by her discovery of his vileness, her resentment, her murder, and the consequent public disclosure and punishment of his crime.

Althia and Miranda were two rich country heiresses and consequently much sought for by eligible young men. On the proud and reserved Althia no suitor made an impression, but the younger sister, the gay Miranda, was wooed and won by Clitander, a young London merchant. To London the couple went to live and with them took Althia. Clitander was a mercenary soul, who had married Miranda purely for the sake of obtaining her money, and he soon set himself to the acquiring of Althia's fortune as well. To that end he corrupted her with evil books and soft speeches and finally ruined her. Then, having won her entire confidence, he suggested that she make her will, to which she having consented, he substituted a deed of gift in his own favor, intending to murder her and have it look like suicide. Unfortunately, she insisted upon reading the paper, and discovering the cheat, threatened to reveal all and even went so far as to write letters, but before they were dispatched he regained her confidence and took the opportunity to poison her. Miranda, fearing some foul play had killed her sister, though never for a moment suspecting her husband, made a thorough investigation and brought the whole plot to light. On the strength of it she secured a divorce, so that the mercenary Clitander lost all "the money for which he had ventured his soul."

The girls are rather well drawn and the slow change in Althia is portrayed with a power suggestive of Richardson, but the

<sup>11a</sup> This work is not attributed to Mrs. Haywood by any authority that I have consulted. According to the 1726 title page it is "By the Author of the Memoirs of an Island Adjacent to Utopia," [E. H.], and according to that of 1728 "By the author of *Reflections on the various Effects of Love*." The B. M. cataloguers attribute it to Mrs. H. in the 1726 copy, but not in the general bibliography. Certainly it seems more reasonable to attribute it to her than to Mrs. Manley, as is sometimes done. Cf. The Article on "Mrs. Manley" by G. A. Aitken in *D. N. B.*

characters have no personality. The *Padlock*, the companion picture of "virtue rewarded" is, as in many other cases, far inferior to "vice punished."

The youthful Violante was married to the old Lepido, and sincerely intended to make him a faithful wife, but his jealousy and cruelty drove her to such desperation that she finally yielded to the persuasions of an old black slave and granted an interview to an unknown, but faithful, lover. That night the lover appeared and carried her off to the home of his cousin, where she lived virtuously until Lepido obtained a divorce, after which she married the lover and lived happily ever after. In the course of the story it develops that the hideous old slave was really the lover who had assumed that disguise in order to obtain access to his mistress.

The plot, names, and setting might be those of an old Italian or Spanish novel, and in all likelihood go back to some such source, but the elaborate expositions of Violante's feelings and the emphasis upon her "virtue" give a different impression.

*The Disguised Prince; or, the Beautiful Parisian*, which appeared the same year, and which may, or may not, be as the title page says "from the French," is another novel of manners with romantic features. Here again the characters are human but not individualized.

Blanche Bonin, a banker's daughter, corresponded with Samuel Solifocane, son of a German banker and friend of her father in order that the young man might improve his French. It happened that the German prince of that province wished to send his son to Paris to be educated, and learning of the Bonins from the banker, seized the opportunity to send his son under the name of Samuel. Blanche by her many wiles gained his love; but before he had revealed to her his identity, he was forced to return home. Shortly thereafter he heard she was married, and without investigating, judged her false and utterly renounced her. After a time, she, who had not married at all, became alarmed at his long silence and went to Hanover to investigate. As luck would have it, she arrived just in time for the funeral of the real Samuel, and supposing it her lover, retired from the world. To add to her grief she received a spiteful note from her lover (whom she supposed dead) in which he declared he 'cared not a jiffy that she had been faithless, for he never had cared for her anyway.' So great was her grief that she was ill for months. Just as she was recovering she received a letter from another suitor in the handwriting of her lover which, as she supposed him to have been dead a year, caused her no end of surprise and confusion. Unfortunately the author did not bring the story to a conclusion, or, at least, I have been unable to discover the promised second part.

The rest of Mrs. Haywood's novels require no separate comment for they differ but slightly from the conventional *novelle*. *The Surprise; or, Constancy Rewarded* is dedicated to Steele, and I cannot help wondering whether that author found the story of the girl who won back her faithless lover particularly to his taste. Alinda, endowed with beauty and wit, was sought in marriage by both Ellmour and Bellamant, and being in doubt as to which to choose, she invited her cousin, Euphemia, to spend a week or so with her and give an opinion on the two suitors. Euphemia, although neither so handsome nor so witty as Alinda, made up in good humour and wealth what she lacked in looks, and had many suitors of her own, but the only one for whom she cared had deserted her for a great beauty. Alinda discovered that this recreant lover was Bellamant and immediately resolved to take Ellamour for her husband. Bellamant continued in his career of duplicity, but before long ended in a debtor's prison, where he repented at leisure and above all regretted his "unhandsome treatment" of Euphemia. The news of his misfortune had reached that lady's ears, and she decided to save him. Disguised as a man, she visited him in prison, paid his debt, and being assured of his change of heart, revealed herself to him. The *Princess of Ijaveo* is a curious little piece, so clumsy and crude as to be quite worthless, yet with its wicked vizier, evil genii, good spirits, enchantments, terrible storms, and cynical explanatory notes, it is curiously anticipatory of Beckford's *Vathek* and the Gothic romances. *Jenny and Jessamy* and *Miss Betsy Thoughtless* fall outside the limits of this study, but in passing, it should be noted, that they are not close imitations of Richardson's novels. They do, it is true, show the influence of the new fiction very markedly, but the heroines, and especially Betsy, are more closely related to the impulsive Moll Flanders than to the calculating Pamela or refined Clarissa.

*The Female Spectator* (1723), and the *Tea-Table* (1725), contain much material from domestic life. The latter criticises very sensibly the absurd sentimentality then current. In this connection the story of Arabella, who "having been married according to her wishes died of grief through thinking of

future misfortunes" is particularly noteworthy. Mrs. Haywood's style has not the brilliancy or dash of Mrs. Behn's, but is vigorous, natural, and colloquial to a fault. At its best it resembles that of Defoe,<sup>11b</sup> but is not sustained at that level. To conclude, Mrs. Haywood's fiction does not comprise anything as good as *Oroonoko* or *The Fair Jilt*, but from the point of view of the literary historian it is important, since it reflects the growth of sentiment and tragic pathos and shows an advance both in the subjective analysis of emotions and in the writing of the "domestic history."

#### MRS. JANE BARKER

Less important and less interesting than the narratives of Mrs. Haywood are those of Mrs. Barker. Of Mrs. Barker herself we know nothing. Even Dr. Stanglmaier<sup>12</sup> who has made a special study of this authoress has been unable to unearth any information about her life. From various allusions, autobiographic passages, and numerous references to "Lucasia,"<sup>13</sup> we may infer that in her girlhood Mrs. Barker was one of the younger members of that circle of country gentry which had formerly surrounded Mrs. Katherine Philips. To these early associations, no doubt, may be attributed her admiration for "divine Orinda, queen of female writers" and her lifelong partiality for the elaborate French romances. Her name first appears as early as 1680, on the title page of *Poetical Recreations: Consisting of Original Poems, Songs, Odes, etc., with Translations: in Two Parts: Part I. Occasionally Written by*

<sup>11b</sup> In this connection it is interesting to note that Mrs. Haywood was associated with Defoe in the "Duncan Campbell literature," although in just what way is not clear. It is not at all certain in some instances whether a pamphlet is by Defoe or by Mrs. Haywood.

<sup>12</sup> For more detailed discussion see *Mrs. Jane Barker: Ein Beitrag zur Englischen Literaturgeschichte*, by Karl Stanglmaier. Munich, 1906. Dr. Stanglmaier was chiefly concerned with the verse, which he has elaborately analyzed.

<sup>13</sup> Mrs. Anne Owen, to whom "Orinda" addressed some of her poems. Cf. Upham, *French Influence in English Literature*, p. 356. From allusions in her later works we know Mrs. Barker was on more or less intimate terms with Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe.

*Mrs. Jane Barker, Part II, By Several Gentlemen of the Universities and others.* The conventional and proper verse scarcely deserves the praise which one admiring "young gentleman" was impelled to address to the fair authoress:

"Thy Lines may pass severest Virtue's Test,  
More than Astraea's soft, more than Orinda's chaste."

Thirty-five years elapsed before Mrs. Barker again appeared in print, and then it was not as a poet but as a writer of fiction. In 1715 Curnell published her *Exilius; or, the Banished Roman*, which was followed by a translation of Fénelon's *The Christian Pilgrimage* in 1718, by the *Amours of Bosvil and Galesia* in 1719, and by seven romances<sup>14</sup> and two collections of miscellaneous pieces before 1726. After that Mrs. Barker's name appears no more except on reprints of her popular romances.

*Exilius*<sup>15</sup> was "written after the Manner of Telemachus, for the instruction of some young ladies of quality." Since, in the opinion of Mrs. Barker "a learned lady was as ridiculous as a spinning Hercules," the edifying discourses on history, government, philosophy and the like, were subordinated to innumerable discussions on how a young lady should manage her suitors, on filial obedience, and on points of etiquette. The plot is a wretched medley of all the absurd adventures and devices to be found in the romances. But though the adventures are wild, the heroines are characterized by a matter-of-fact common sense worthy of Pamela. One princess upon being told that the gods would surely not disapprove of her elopement, since the oracle had replied that

"The Gods will never disapprove  
The sacred Bonds of mutual love,"

responded that "Whatsoever the Gods might seem to consent to in their dubious oracles, a young lady ought to interpret

<sup>14</sup> These comprise: *Celia and Marcellus, or the Constant Lovers*; *The Reward of Virtue, or, the Adventures of Clarinthia and Lysander*; *The Lucky Escape, or the Fate of Ismenius*; *Clodius and Scipiana, or the Beautiful Captive*; *Piso, or the Lewd Courtier*; *The Happy Recluse* and *The Fair Widow*.

<sup>15</sup> Reprinted in 1726, 1736, 1743 and translated into German in 1721.

their meaning according to the dictates of filial obedience." The misguided Scipiana has a way of interspersing moral reflections with an account of her past experiences that suggests Moll Flanders.

"I gave under my own hand the certificate of my folly, and the signed testimonials of my indiscretion, for sure there is not a greater imprudence than for a young lady to write to her lover; I am now sensible it ought never to be done, no not even on the account of denials or reprimands."

And later she remarks:

"For 'tis certain no reproach is like self-reproach, nor any misfortune so hard to undergo as what we draw upon ourselves."

Mrs. Barker's other romances, though they were not so obviously educative, resemble *Exilius*. In them all, we find the wildest romance mingled with the most matter-of-fact expression of commonplace moral sentiments and practical rules of behavior. In two of her later works: *A Patchwork-Screen for the Ladies, Or Love and Virtue Recommended* (1723), and *The Lining of the Patch-Work Screen* (1726), she abandoned romance for realistic and "instructive" novels. She declares the manner to be entirely new, but it is merely the old device of telling stories. The tales, in spite of Mrs. Barker's constant lauding of the old romances on the score of their purity, are not above reproach from the point of view of propriety, not to say of morality. And such morality as she taught, is of that peculiarly immoral variety that contents itself with keeping within the letter of the law. Mrs. Barker taught virtue most often by putting vice in the pillory, as in the "Story of Jack Merchant in which the quintessence of wickedness is designed and practised." More amusing and most enlightening as regards Mrs. Barker's idea of virtue and its immediate tangible reward is the story of Capt Manley.

Captain Manley, a hopeless rake, unhappily married to a jealous wife who refused to give him sufficient money to continue his wild life, went to sea to seek a fortune. He experienced nothing but storms and disasters, and finally fell into the hands of the Turks and was made a slave. There he remained in servitude for some time, till his widowed mistress fell a victim to his charms, and offered him wealth and freedom on condition that he would marry her. Although the temptation was great, the Captain, warned

in a dream by three dead companions, confessed that he was already married, and that the laws of the Christians would not permit him to have more than one wife at a time. Immediately was his virtue rewarded, for not only did his mistress free him and supply him with funds, but on his return to England, he found that his wife had died and at "the very time of his honorable confession made him a legacy."

#### MRS. PENELOPE AUBIN

Another contemporary of Mrs. Haywood, Mrs. Penelope Aubin, brought the novel closer to the narrative of adventure. Of her life nothing at all is known, and she is not so much as mentioned in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Her name first appears in 1721 on the title pages of two strange medleys of romance, novel of manners, and popular history; namely, *The Life of Madam de Beaumont* and *The Strange Adventures of the Count de Vinevil and his Family*, and we find it again in 1722 on *The Noble Slaves* and *The History of Genghizen*,<sup>16</sup> still again in 1726, on *The Life and Adventures of the Lady Lucy*, in 1727, on a translation of the *Illustrious French Lovers*, and finally in 1729, on another translation from the French, *The Life of the Countess de Gondez*. These narratives are highly didactic and are not merely moralistic, for in one and all there are strong pleas for the Catholic Church. Mrs. Aubin confessed to a great admiration for *Robinson Crusoe*, and we find her imitating it in shipwrecking her characters on uninhabited islands and putting them through most extraordinary adventures which she strove to describe with all the realism and circumstantial evidence of Defoe. In addition, she interwove one or more rather romantic love stories. The most notable feature of her narratives is that in each and every one there recurs the realistic story of a young girl or virtuous woman resisting the advances of a charming rake in favor of the "perfect lover," and being rewarded by worldly goods for her "virtue," while her wicked tormentor is brought to a horrible and disgraceful death. This edifying tale is localized in a romantic setting such as the Orient, the fastnesses of Ireland, or the mountains of Wales.

<sup>16</sup> Translated from the French of Petis de la Croix. Although full of anecdotes and marvels, it was presumably based on fact, and not intended as fiction.

A very good idea of the varied attractions of Mrs. Aubin's narratives may be gathered from the lengthy descriptive title pages.<sup>17</sup> Her best work, take it all in all, is *The Life and Adventures of the Lady Lucy*, in which some of the descriptions, such as the sack of the castle after the battle of the Boyne, have real merit and are probably the records of an eye-witness. In the preface to the reader, Mrs. Aubin states that philosophy of life of which her novels are the exemplification.

"She [the vicious woman] will be unfortunate in the end, and her death (like Henrietta's) will be accompanied with terrors, and a bitter repentance shall attend her to the grave; whilst the virtuous shall look dangers in the face unmoved, and putting their whole trust in the Divine Providence shall be freed from the miseries of this life, and go to the eternal repose."<sup>18a</sup>

The translations are less romantic than her original work, but are otherwise in the same style. The only notable story in *The Illustrious French Lovers*<sup>17b</sup> is that of M. de Contamini

"*The Life of Madam de Beaumont, a French Lady; Who lived in a Cave in Wales above fourteen years undiscovered, being forced to flye France for her religion, and of the Cruel Usage she had there. Also her Lord's Adventures in Muscovy where he was prisoner some years, with an Account of his returning to France, and her being discovered by a Welsh Gentleman, who fetches her Lord to Wales; and of many strange accidents which befel them, and their daughter Belinda, who was stolen away from them and of their Return to France in the year 1718.*

*The Strange Adventures of the Count de Vinevil and his Family. Being an account of what happened to them whilst they resided at Constantinople. And of Mlle. Ardelisia, his daughter's being shipwrecked on the Uninhabited Island Delos in the Return to France, with Violetta, a Venetian Lady, the Captain of the Ship, a Priest, and five Sailors. The manner of their living there, and strange Deliverance by the arrival of a Ship commanded by Violetta's father. Ardelisa's Entertainment at Venice and safe return to France.*

*The Life and Adventures of the Lady Lucy, the Daughter of an Irish Lord, who married a German officer, and was by him carried into Flanders, where he became jealous of her and a young Nobleman, his Kinsman, whom he killed, and afterwards left her wounded . . . in a Forest. Of the Strange Adventures that befel both him and her afterwards, and the wonderful Manner in which they met again after living eighteen years asunder.*

<sup>18a</sup> Preface, p. 10.

<sup>17b</sup> *The Illustrious French Lovers; Being the True Histories of the Amours of Several French Persons of Quality. In which are contained a great Number of excellent Examples and Rare and Uncommon Accidents; shewing the Polite Breeding and Gallantry of the Gentlemen and Ladies of the French Nation.*

which proved, according to the author, that "a poor virtuous maid may get a good husband." More entertaining and instructive, is *The Life of the Countess de Gondez.*<sup>17c</sup>

On the whole, the work of Mrs. Aubin is an interesting attempt to introduce into one narrative the varied attractions of the romance, the realistic novel, the Oriental setting, and the accurate description, and is significant in that the theme of the struggle between an innocent girl and a conscienceless rake receives considerable attention. Similar tendencies are reflected in a few sporadic works which are individually better than any of the narratives of Mrs. Aubin, Mrs. Barker, or even Mrs. Haywood.

#### OCCASIONAL PIECES

An attempt to combine the realistic love story and the novel of incident somewhat on the plan of Mrs. Aubin is to be found in the *Unhappy Lovers; or, the History of James Welston, Gent.*, a most curious mixture of love and travel, with a satiric instead of a moralistic purpose. Decidedly better, is *The Lover's Secretary; or, the Adventures of Lindamira, A Lady of Quality. Written by herself to her friend in the Country. In XXIV Letters. Revised by Mr. Thomas Brown, the second edition, London, 1715.*<sup>18</sup> This is the very realistic story of various misunderstandings, quarrels, and reconciliations of a young lady and her lover, as described by the lady herself. The first fourteen letters are decidedly the best, the remaining

<sup>17c</sup> *The Life of the Countess de Gondez. Written by her own Hand in French. First she was a great beauty and chose an old count for her husband when she was not eighteen, and then she fell in love with a young lord, who was handsome and charming, and pursued her with all the arts of love, yet she kept her virtue, preserved her reputation, and never was guilty of one slip for above three years that her lord lived with her. But what is yet more extraordinary, she mourned him dead, without hypocrisy, kept still up to the dignity of her character, and refused to marry the man she loved, till she had paid tribute of a long mourning, more than duty required, for her deceased husband; and that being past, and her lover making some false steps, she conquered her passion and preferred a nobler and more constant lover before him.*

<sup>18</sup> There is no record of a first edition. I imagine that it is a modified and amplified version of some French work.

eleven being commonplace in material and extravagant in style. The spirit and style of the first letters is that of the narrative comedies, full of dramatic situations and humorous descriptions of incidents and characters. Mr. Spintext and Aunt Xantippe are delightful caricatures, and such scenes as that in which the irate lady discovers her supposed lover to be married to her niece are essentially dramatic.

In the opening letter we learn that the writer, Lindamira, having been led by the flattery of some sparks to enter into a flirtation with a married man, is on the way to the country to avoid the attentions of her admirer. In the coach she meets a young barrister, Cleomidon, who falls in love with her. During her stay with her friends she becomes engaged to him, but for various reasons keeps it a secret. The illness of her mother recalls her to town and a few days thereafter her mother dies, leaving her without a protector. Cleomidon is anxious to marry, but she insists upon waiting a year, which leads to a quarrel and the breaking of the engagement. He, in a huff, marries another—and repents at leisure. The next few letters concern the numerous affairs of Lindamira's gay cousin, but toward the end we learn that Cleomidon's wife has died and that he has again become engaged. A little later he meets his first love and a reconciliation is effected.

Less good is *The Double Captive; or, Chains upon Chains, containing the Amorous Poems and Letters of a Young Gentleman, one of the Preston Prisoners in Newgate. Occasioned by his falling in love with a Scotch lady who came to visit his friend.* Here again the first part, with its realistic description of the prison and of the emotion unconsciously aroused by the lady, far surpasses the conventional love letters and insipid verse of Part II. Decidedly original is *The Distressed Orphan; or, Love in a Mad-House.*<sup>10</sup>

Annilia, a rich orphan, was kindly brought up by her uncle, who intended to marry her to his son and thus keep the money in the family. The son, a weak creature, immediately yielded to his father's wishes, although he had no particular inclination for his cousin; and Annilia half consented. Shortly thereafter she met and fell violently in love with Marathon. Her uncle, having discovered her passion, tried to hasten her marriage to his son, and on her absolutely refusing, resorted to hard usage. Finally, he

<sup>10</sup> Reprinted as *Love in a Madhouse; or, the History of Eliza Hartley. The Distressed Orphan. Written by herself after her happy Union with the Colonel*, London, 1810. The style was modernized, the names changed, and the moral omitted.

became desperate and giving out that her mind had become affected, committed her to a private asylum. Here, after a long search, her lover discovered her, got himself committed, and by the aid of his servant rescued the ill-treated Annilia. The truth having become known, the uncle and his family were severely censured, and so high ran public opinion that the son was forced to fly the country, and the father, scorned by his old friends, died of a broken heart. "May all such base designers," concludes the author, "meet the same fate; let them in foreign lands wander unfriended, unregarded, fit society only for Beasts of prey; while the constant and sincere meet with a recompense proportionate to their merit, happy in themselves, and triumphant over those who seek to harm, to detract, or to prejudice them."

Its most remarkable feature is the humane protest against the barbarous treatment of lunatics, and the generally enlightened attitude toward insanity. Last of all, but by no means the poorest is, *Alexis and Sylvia*, the second novel in the *Constant Lovers* (1736), "being the live and tender letters that passed between them after her father had terminated their amour" on the score of the suitor's poverty, and before a kind friend had equalized their fortunes. Sylvia's letters reveal independence, enterprise, and sprightliness of spirit.

Novels of a similar nature were translated from the French, but not in appreciable numbers until the decade of the thirties, so that in this case, the translations seem to have followed the original works. *The Unnatural Mother; being the Genuine and most affecting History of the Tragical and Fatal Consequences that attended the passion of a Gentleman of the Law and a young lady of a considerable Family* (1734), has the realism that comes with the verisimilitude of external detail. Marivaux's *Le Paysan Parvenu* and *La Vie de Marianne*, both translated in 1736, are too well-known to require summaries. They both show the tendency to deal sympathetically with the bourgeoisie, to depict manners with great detail, and to center the interest around the struggle between virtue and vice as personified in an innocent young girl and a rake.

#### THE ORIENTAL TALE

Besides the development of the "domestic history," two new features appeared during the period—the Oriental tale and the purely didactic story. The former enjoyed a mild

vogue. Miss Conant, in her interesting study of *The Oriental Tale in England*<sup>20</sup> has shown how the purely romantic interest in the Orient, its use as a setting for romances like *Tachmas*, *Prince of Persia* (1676), *Almanzor and Almansaide* (1678), *Altisira, Princess of Fess* (1682), and many of the late heroic romances, led to its adoption for satiric purposes in Marana's *Turkish Spy* (1698), and Brown's *Amusements Serious and comical calculated for the Meridian of London* (1700);<sup>21</sup> for moral and philosophic purposes in tales like the *Story of Helim and Abdallah*, contributed by Addison to the *Spectator*, and in numberless other narratives in the periodicals. Genuine Oriental tales were introduced, once more by the way of France, in the opening years of the eighteenth century; *The Arabian Nights* was translated about 1704 and was followed by the *Persian Tales* in 1714, the *Chinese Tales* in 1725, and so on. Their popularity, as Miss Conant points out, was due in no small measure to the prestige given them by their vogue in France. Their sentimentalism, their romanticism of spirit, combined with their realism of detail, made a strong appeal. Their influence on fiction would naturally be greatest on the romance and novel of incident, since the interest of these stories centers on the rapid succession of events and not on the characters. The fairy tales of Perrault<sup>22</sup> and Madam d'Aulnoy,<sup>23</sup> which in France shared the popularity of the Oriental tales, did not arouse much enthusiasm in England until later in the century.

#### THE FABLE, APOLOGUE, AND EDUCATIVE ROMANCE.

The term "didactic story" might almost be used to cover all the fiction of the period, for the wildest romances and most licentious tales were interlarded with sententious saws and supplied with a preface stating that "to instruct and to amuse is the end of all books of this nature," but strictly speaking the

<sup>20</sup> *The Oriental Tale in England in the Eighteenth Century*, by Martha Pike Conant, New York, 1908.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 66.

<sup>22</sup> Translated 1729.

<sup>23</sup> *Tales of the Fairies*, *Works*, vol. iii, translated 1707.

didactic story includes only those narratives written to point a moral, teach a lesson, or elaborate a theory, such as fables, apogues, and semi-educational treatises. The fables were, for the most part, translations through the French, of Oriental originals, and more rarely of French imitations. *The Fables of Bidpai*, of which a forgotten translation had been made by Sir Thomas North in 1570,<sup>24</sup> was re-translated in 1679, and reprinted five times by 1800. *Aesop's Fables* were several times printed, the most famous version being the metrical translation by Sir Roger L'Estrange in 1692. Of contemporary fables in English, after we have excluded Gay's *Fables* and the Countess of Winchilsea's metrical fables in imitation of La Fontaine, the best, I think, are to be found in the *Collected Works of the Duke of Wharton* (1727), but whether *The Cat and the Over-Bold Mouse* and *Chardonet, the Captive Gold-Finch; a Warning to all Prodigals* are translated or original, I do not know.

Closely related to the fable in style and spirit is the apologue, likewise of Oriental origin. The best representatives in English are those in the *Spectator*, of which *The Story of Hilpa, Harpath and Shalum* is perhaps the most generally known. The attempt to cast the novel of intrigue and the short romance into the apologue mould produced a most incongruous effect. Two novels by a Mrs. Arabella Plantin, contained in the *Works of the Duke of Wharton* will serve as examples. The first, *The Ungrateful, or the Just Revenge*, is a typical Italian story of a woman who killed her husband who had been so "ungrateful" as to desert her after running through her fortune. The other, *Love Led Astray; or, the Mutual Inconstancy* is a courtly pastoral of crossed loves, ending in an exchange of sweethearts, from which tale Mrs. Plantin draws the illuminating moral that a "shepherd can love as well as a king." Somewhat akin to the apologue, is the proverb literature, of which species of writing, the most prominent author

<sup>24</sup> Under the title *The Morall Philosophie of Donie &c.* It was reprinted in 1601. In 1679 another version, *The Instructive and Entertaining Fables of Pilpoys* came out and was reprinted in 1743. Still another version appeared in *Aesop Naturalized*, brought out in 1711.

is Oswald Dykes. His *Good Manners for Schools, or a paraphrase upon Qui mihi, . . . , Done into English verse* (1700), *Moral Reflections upon Select English Proverbs* (1708), were several times reprinted; the latter in 1709 and again in 1713. Neither the novel of incident nor the novel of manners could borrow much from such short, impersonal, formal stories as the fable and apologue, but in the premium which these put upon singleness of purpose and clearness of style their influence was most beneficial.

The third type of didactic story, the educative treatise, was developed at this time and may be said to have been brought into prominence, if not created, by Fénelon, who in his *Télémaque*, utilized a romantic machinery somewhat similar to that of the *Argenis* to exploit his educational theories.<sup>25</sup> He was followed by the Chevalier Ramsay in *Les Voyages de Cyrus* (1727, 1730), by the Abbé J. Pernetti in *Le Repos de Cyrus* and by the Abbé Terrasson in *Sethos* (1731), in all of which there was much information upon historical and scientific subjects. There were English versions of all of these. *Telemachus* was translated in 1699, *The Voyages of Cyrus* in 1730, *Sethos* by M. Lediard in 1732; but the only English work modelled directly upon these that appeared before 1740 was the inferior *Exilius* of Mrs. Jane Barker in 1715. Our Sunday-school fiction and such edifying children's stories as the *Rollo* series probably had their origin in a combination of the learned educative narrative, the more popular social treatises, and the sentimental pieces of such pious ladies as Mrs. Rowe.

To recapitulate, the novel or brief tale which during the first half of the seventeenth century had fallen into desuetude, returned to favor in the latter half, and before 1700 had supplanted the romance in popular favor. The short Italian *novelle* which, condensed, modernized and vulgarized for many years continued to fill such collections as *The Delightful Novels* and *Winter Tales*, were the point of departure for the more

<sup>25</sup> In this connection may be mentioned the Oriental philosophic romance, *The Improvement of Reason, exhibited in the Life of Hai Ebn Yokdhan; Written in Arabic above 500 years ago, by Abu Jaafar Ebn Tophail*, which appeared with slightly varying titles in 1674, 1708 and 1711.

romantic Spanish novels of the Cloak and Sword and for the clever French novels of manners. Through the translations and imitations of the latter by writers such as Mrs. Behn, the much-needed realism, vivacity, and colloquialism was imported into the heavy English prose fiction. In the same direction was the influence of the sprightly Narrative Comedies. Realism of emotional expression was learned from the *Letters of a Portuguese Nun*, which incidentally gave prominence to the device of the letter. With the turn of the century, we find a reaction against flagrant immorality, together with a revival of sentimentalism and a love of didacticism, reflected in the social treatises, the fables, the apologetics, the educational narratives, and the Oriental and fairy tales. All of these elements, together with a conventional, middle-class point of view, an increasing interest in self-analysis, and a realistic depiction of manners, we find in the contemporary narratives, notably in the domestic histories of Mrs. Haywood and the novels of Mrs. Barker and her anonymous contemporaries.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE POPULAR FICTION—JOHN BUNYAN—DANIEL DEFOE

With the popular fiction, we come to the large mass of cheap, artless, and ephemeral narratives, written for and read by all classes of people from the uneducated apprentices and small tradesmen to the court gallants. The majority are broadsides, popular histories, or chapbooks, but others were written by men of ability and fair schooling like Defoe. Nor must it be assumed that even the chapbooks were familiar only to the ignorant, for from the allusions in the drama, essays, fiction, and memoirs, it is quite apparent that the children, if not the adults, of all classes read them with delight.<sup>1</sup> They became part of the literary inheritance of the nation and thus influential in the moulding of all later forms of fiction. In number they are legion and in variety infinite, so that we can hope to do no more than glance at the most prominent types. Exclusive of news-letters, of tracts on dreams, ghosts, palmistry, astrology, behavior, and of sundry collections of letters, there are five groups: vulgar redactions of aristocratic fiction; legends, folk-tales and historical anecdotes; accounts of plebeian heroes both of the past and present; and last but not least, journalistic pieces of all sorts. Least interesting perhaps, are the versions of the romances, anti-romances, and novels, for they merely reflect in ruder form the taste of the educated. Before the Restoration, the redactions were chiefly of the romances,<sup>2</sup> as, for example, *Amadis, Bellianis, Palmeryn*,

<sup>1</sup> “When Guy of Warwick, Parismus, and Parismenus and Valentine and Orson, and the Seven Champions of England were handed round the school,” Sterne’s *Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, Bk. v, p. 3. Clonmel, ed. ii. 211.

<sup>2</sup> These prints are usually without dates, but in a few cases we know both the redactor and the date, especially in the case of the work of Francis Kirkman and Richard Johnson, which seems to have been a little revival of the old forms. *Amadis*, by R. J., 1664; *Bellianis*, by F. K., 1671; *The*

*Parismus* and their less aristocratic compeers, *Guy of Warwick* and *Bevis of Hampton* among the chivalric, and *Pandosto*, *Ciceronis Amor*, *Rosalynde*, and the *Arcadia* among the Elizabethan; but even before 1660, while the romances were still "turned out," the taste for realism of the grossest kind, made equally popular the condensations of picaresque miscellanies, and such French novels of scandal as could be turned to the ridicule of the French, as, for example, the *French King's Wedding, or the Royal Frolic*. The heroic romances, the comic romances, with the exception of *Don Quixote*,<sup>3</sup> and the clever novels of intrigue were rarely, if ever, vulgarized. Exactly how much the writers of popular histories learned from these redactions, and how much these in turn contributed to such writers as Bunyan, Defoe, and Richardson it is impossible to determine, but undoubtedly many devices were transmitted from one to the other. The chief contribution was made by the romances of chivalry, which, to repeat what has already been said, emphasized the conception of the narrative as "the whole life and principal adventures of some particular person or persons," in contradistinction to the novel, which, like the drama, confined itself to a certain set of closely related incidents. The histories of Richardson and Fielding show the combination, or the attempted combination of the two conceptions, for, while we always are given "the whole life," the interest centers on a certain group of incidents.

More interesting than the redactions are the legends, folktales, and historical anecdotes, many of which have received literary treatment at one time or another, or have found their way into our nursery rhymes. Here, for instance, belong *Jacke and the Gyants*, *Simple Simon*, *The History of A. Apple Pye*, *The Children in the Wood*, *Reynard the Fox*, *Friar Bacon*, *Faustus*, *Fortunatus*, and many more. Among the historical anecdotes are *The King and the Tanner*, *Jane Shore*, *Fair*

*Eighth Champion of Christendom*, c. 1708, a rather satirical continuation, *Pandosto*, in 1614, 1648, 1678, 1688, moralized and bound with *Josephus* in 1696. *Ciceronis Amor*, in 1605, 1611, 1616, 1628, 1639. The *Arcadia* was condensed and printed in 1701 as *The History of Heroic Acts*.

<sup>3</sup> Cheap condensed versions appeared in 1689 and 1695.

*Rosamond, Wat Tyler, Jacke Straw*—all it will be noted democratic in character.<sup>4</sup>

Closely akin to the democratic anecdotes of royalty in disguise are the “histories” of popular heroes like Robin Hood and his famous band, who lived a merry, independent life in defiance of the law, or like Whittington, Thomas of Reading, and Simon Eyre, who rose from the lowest class to wealth and eminence. The predominating note in one and all is the glorification of the self-made man, and incidentally of the middle class. This spirit at its best is preserved in the versions of the old stories made by the sunny Elizabethan, Thomas Deloney. He was the Dekker of prose fiction, and the exploits of Thomas of Reading, John Winchcomb, Crispin and Crispianus, and Simon Eyre, seem to have caught his inimitable buoyancy and contagious joviality. The informing spirit is aptly expressed in the following couplet on the title page of a quaint little tale of Anglo-Saxon times:

“Though all things suffer by the hand of Fate,  
I hope true worth will never out of date.”

Then follows the *History of Bovinian* (1656), who from a henchman rose to be a thane at the court of Athelstane, wooed and won the King’s sister, and on the monarch’s death was elected his successor—all of which he accomplished by bravery and ability. The temper in this, as in all the “histories,” is that of Philistine self-satisfaction. The virtuous are always rewarded with the goods of this world, and have the pleasure of defeating and punishing the wicked; the low-born hero is never weary of bragging of his prowess, of exulting in his power and wealth, and with ostentatious democracy “treating all men alike.” With the joviality replaced by a more conventional and more conscious morality, the same spirit of unquestioning optimism and assertiveness appears again in the work of Defoe.

\* Occasionally a political significance was attached to the story, as in the case of *Wat Tyler*, which bore the sub-title “just reward of Rebels.” *The Perplexed Prince* (1682) utilized the old king and the peasant device to make a plea for the Duke of Monmouth. The B. M. catalogue says that this tract appeared before the date on the title page.

In the moral and religious tracts, which next claim our attention, the spirit is entirely different—the theme is the wickedness and weakness of man. Of the reformatory tracts, such as *The Drunkard's Legacy, A Warning to Disobedient Children*, etc., it is unnecessary to say anything; out of them great things never grew, yet they have continued to exist in such edifying works of comparatively recent times, as *Ten Nights in a Bar-Room*. A rare and pretty variation from the usual form is the fairy tale of the *Golden Eagle* (1677).

Albertus, King of Arragon, falls ill of a languishing disease and is told by his physicians that his return to health depends upon the recovery of the Golden Eagle from the Queen of Ivyland. He sends his three sons, but they disagree about the way, and the two elder rob the youngest and leave him bound, in a wood while they continue the search. He is released by a hermit and through the help of a kindly lady gains access to an enchanted castle and there procures a horse that carries him to Ivyland. His request for the Eagle is granted and he starts for home, but his brothers meet him, seize the Eagle and hasten home to the father, who rewards them liberally. The poor youth, Innocentius by name, manages after a time to return to Ivyland. The Queen, enraged at the perfidy of the brothers, visits the court, explains the whole story to the King, and after having the impostors banished, marries Innocentia.

The religious tracts<sup>5</sup> are less common than the moral. The Scriptural paraphrases, biographical accounts of Saints, and the like, are not important and far from numerous in prose, but there were current a *Life of Judas Iscariot*, *The Exodus*, and *Genesis*. Of those concerning conscience there are a number, many of which have titles suggestive of *Pilgrim's Progress* and may well have been familiar to Bunyan, who elevated and gave final shape to these allegories. The most prominent are *The Voyage of the Wandering Knight*, *The Pilgrim's Passe to the New Jerusalem* by "M. K. Gent" (1659), Dent's *Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven*<sup>6</sup> and the ever popular *Isle of Man*, by Richard Bernard, written in 1627 and in its fourteenth edition in 1678.

<sup>5</sup> For a full bibliography of these see *The Pilgrim's Progress*, ed. Hanserd Knollys Society, with an Introduction by G. Offer, 1847; and J. B. Wharey, *A Study of the Sources of John Bunyan's Allegories*, University of Pennsylvania Publications, 1904.

<sup>6</sup> Printed during the seventeenth century in 1607, 1637 and 1660.

The sensational news-narratives are the last, but by no means the least, of the groups into which we divided the popular fiction. These were the "yellow journals" of their day, printing anything for a sensation and at the same time pretending to narrate actual facts. The aim was to produce the effect of a literal description, whether the subject was a supernatural wonder, such as *The Full, True, and Particular Account of the Ghost or Apparition of the Duke of Buckingham's Father*; a crime like *The Bloody Tragedy* or *The Lawyer's Doom*; a criminal biography such as *The History of Jacke of Newbury*, or the tales in the *Newgate Calendar*;<sup>7</sup> a political tract such as *The Royal Martyr*; or the common news of the town—elopements, tragic deaths, seductions, dramatic marriages, etc.—such as we read every day in our newspapers. Defoe found these journalistic narratives at his hand, and without deviating from their purpose, to create a sensation, or from their method, the production of the illusion of actuality, he raised the ghost story, the criminal biography, and the narrative of adventure "to the realm of literature." As we shall see, his genius consisted in doing better than anybody else what many had already attempted. With one variety of chapbook, the love story, Defoe did little except in so far as he utilized such material in *Moll Flanders*, *Roxana*, "Colonel Jacque" and his conduct-books.

The brief popular love stories form an interesting little group, giving us peeps into the life led by the citizens and often dealing with the same themes and situations to which Richardson was to give literary treatment. There was *Love in a Passion without Discretion*, being an account of a well-to-do young merchant who was so smitten with the beauty, discretion, and virtuous conduct of a girl he met in a holiday crowd, that he insisted upon marrying her forthwith, even when she "discovered to him she was his friend's servant."

A trifle more literary is *Amanda, the Reformed Whore* (1635), a prose and verse narrative by Thomas Cranley, which recounts the courtship of the fair Amanda of questionable reputation, by a prisoner who besought her to leave her evil

<sup>7</sup> *The Newgate Calendar*, London, 1728.

ways and so filled her heart with repentance that she died of grief. A later and less tragic version of a similar story<sup>8</sup> has a good young man convert the erring damsels and after placing her as a servant in a worthy family, sail to foreign parts. She conducted herself well for years, and then came her reward! Her mistress died, and she became her master's second wife, and lived happily with him until his death a few years later. In the meantime, the good young man, who had "gone over sea," had lost all his wealth in unfortunate ventures, and returned penniless to London about the time that the woman whom he had befriended was left a wealthy widow. She, while out walking one day, recognizing in the poor beggar her former benefactor, immediately renewed their acquaintance, and married him out of hand that he might enjoy the wealth he had been instrumental in procuring. "Thus was their virtue rewarded."

Richardson's relation to the popular and ephemeral fiction is not similar to that of Defoe. Precisely what his indebtedness was is most uncertain. His themes might well have been derived from the drama and from hints in the periodicals and conduct-books, yet there is something in the atmosphere, in the style, and in the pervading materialism that savors of the popular narratives. On the other hand, his point of view, reflective, idealistic, almost romantic, and his conscious utilization of devices and methods derived from the romances, the novel, and the drama, make his work stand quite apart. In speaking of the relation of the drama to fiction, it may be in place to mention here that subjects such as filled these popular histories were common in the domestic tragedies. Of these the best are by Thomas Heywood, and although his point of view is very different from that of Richardson, centering upon the man instead of the woman, yet in *The Travellers*, *The Woman Killed with Kindness* and the Jane Shore episodes in *Edward IV*, there is much similarity to the novels in the material, narrow morality, the sensibility of the characters, and the tragic pathos. In this connection it is interesting to note that

<sup>8</sup> *The Reformed Whore*. This has no date, but the B. M. catalogue gives c. 1709.

Rowe re-worked the Jane Shore material in 1714, and that Richardson particularly comments upon that play and *The Fair Penitent* in *Clarissa Harlowe*. During these years, too, Otway was much in vogue, and immediately before Richardson, came Lillo's *George Barnfield* (1731), and *Fatal Curiosity* (1737), and the sentimental comedies of Steele.

#### JOHN BUNYAN<sup>9</sup>

##### *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Mr. Badman*

In *Pilgrim's Progress*, Bunyan produced not only the most perfect of English allegories but a masterpiece of prose narration. With the sources of the allegory, the device of the vision and the conception of life as a pilgrimage, with its relation to the *Faerie Queen* and similar mooted points, we are not concerned. The whole question has received careful attention in an admirable study by James B. Wharey,<sup>10</sup> who, after comparing *Pilgrim's Progress* in detail with Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, Cartigny's *Voyage of the Wandering Knight*, Patrick's *Parable of the Pilgrim*, and more cursorily with other allegories from *The Table of Cebes* to 1678, and after taking into consideration many sermons and homilies with suggestive themes and titles, comes to the conclusion that: "Bunyan was among the last of a long line of allegorists, that the concept had become common property, and that Bunyan adopted the framework which had been handed down from Deguileville through other allegorists, relying, however, for the details of his allegory, not upon the works of his predecessors, but upon his own invention. Bernard's *Isle of Man* and Arthur Dent's *The Plaine Man's Pathway to Heaven* are the only works from which Bunyan can be said to have borrowed, and from these chiefly in *The Holy War* and *Mr. Badman*." If Bunyan's debt to these popular allegories is so indefinite, that

<sup>9</sup> *The Collected Works of John Bunyan*, ed. George Offer, 3 vols., 1853.

<sup>10</sup> J. B. Wharey, *A Study of the Sources of John Bunyan's Allegories*, University of Pennsylvania Publications, 1904, and *The Pilgrim's Progress*, ed. Hanserd, Knollys Society, with an introduction by G. Offer, London, 1847, which contains a valuable list of early allegories, etc.

to the *Faerie Queen* is even more a matter of conjecture. In a comparatively recent article by Otto Kütz,<sup>11</sup> the scattered statements on this head, with the passages from Spenser, have been collected, and it must be conceded that there is a general similarity in many passages, notably between the House of Holiness and the Cave of Despair, but there are equally striking differences even in these passages, so that, considering the prevalence of these ideas and the improbability of Bunyan's knowing Spenser, it is more than probable that the similarity is wholly fortuitous.

As a narrative, and as such it concerns us, *Pilgrim's Progress* goes back in structure, in the adventures with the giants, Apollyon, and villainous "knights," in the "entertainments" at fair palaces, in the succour of the weak, and other details, to the romances of chivalry. There are, however, vital differences: in the first place, Bunyan was primarily concerned with the spiritual truth and allegorical parallel; in the second place, he wrote in terms of the lesser bourgeoisie; tradesmen and shopkeepers replace the ladies and gentlemen of the romances, and their manners, customs, language and ideals supplant the refinement and elaborate etiquette of the court; and in the third place, he substituted realism for romanticism. Idealism he retained; a loftier conception of the conduct of life is hard to imagine, and his narrative was written to illustrate that life without minimizing its difficulty. It was not presented as life of poetic goodness led in an ideal world or golden age. His characters are human men and women contending against the temptations and evils with which we are all familiar, but doing so in a nobler and more heroic spirit. Therein lies the success of *Pilgrim's Progress* as an allegory, and much of its interest as a narrative: it is our own world cast upon a higher plane, possessing at once the charm of familiarity and the fascination of novelty. Yet had Bunyan not been endowed with a wonderful genius for telling a story, *Pilgrim's Progress* would never have won and retained its tremendous popularity. It is often said that Bunyan regarded himself as anything but a romancer, but

<sup>11</sup> "The Faerie Queen and Pilgrim's Progress," by O. Kütz, *Anglia*, 1899, xxii. 33 sq. and 77 sq.

we should change the phrase to read "merely a romancer"; for Bunyan, having in his prefatory poem justified the use of parables, and "baits" and "snares," frankly employed all the devices known to narrative art in order to produce a vivid impression. In his use of accurate detail to produce the illusion of actuality, in the naturalism of the characters, and in the adoption of a vigorous, colloquial, yet dignified style, he was a worthy predecessor of Defoe, whom he surpassed in spiritual uplift and in certain phases of creative imagination. From the artistic standpoint, Part I is decidedly superior to the continuation. From the moment that Christian enters the scene in that classic sentence: "I dreamed, and behold, I saw a man clothed with rags, standing in a certain place, with his face from his own house, a book in his hand, and a great burden upon his back," until his entry into the New Jerusalem and the final closing of the gates, the hero has our undivided interest. There is not an extraneous episode, not an insignificant personage, scarcely a superfluous word, for even those easily-skipped moral disquisitions are in perfect character. And with what power are the characters drawn! With what nice distinction are Faithful, Hopeful and Christian delineated, and how lifelike Mr. Timorous, Mr. Talkative and Mr. By-Ends! Part II, while distinctly inferior as an allegory and somewhat so as a narrative, is far more genial in tone and richer in pictures from homely life; there are the family ties, lovable Christiana, Mercy, one of the first of a long line of sweet young girls in English fiction, Great-Heart, as brave and true as Christian, but less aggressive than that militant hero. We have a domestic history of the whole family such as does not occur again till the end of the next century. What success Bunyan would have attained had he set about writing mere fiction, we can guess from little episodes such as that of Mr. Brisk and Mercy which in lightness of touch and naturalism are equal to anything in Defoe or Richardson.

Mr. Brisk having offered his love to Mercy, she very wisely inquired concerning him of the maidens in the house and finding that "he was, as they feared, one that pretended to religion; but a stranger to the power of that which is good," decided to have none of him. "Prudence then re-

plied that ‘there needed no great matter of discouragement to be given him, her continuing so as she had begun to do for the poor would quickly cool his courage.’”

“So the next time he comes, he finds her at her old work, a-making of things for the poor. Then said he, ‘What! always at it?’ ‘Yes,’ said she, ‘either for myself or for others.’ ‘And what canst thou earn a-day?’ quoth he. ‘I do these things,’ said she, ‘that I may be rich in good works, laying up in store a good foundation against the time to come, that I may lay hold on eternal life.’ ‘Why, prithee, what dost thou with them?’ said he. ‘Clothe the naked,’ said she. With that his countenance fell. So he forebore to come at her again and when he was asked the reason why, he said, that ‘Mercy was a pretty lass, but troubled with ill conditions.’”

“When he had left her, Prudence said, ‘Did I not tell thee, that Mr. Brisk would soon forsake thee? yea, he will raise up an ill report of thee; for, notwithstanding his pretence to religion, and his seeming love to Mercy, yet Mercy and he are of tempers so different, that I believe they will never come to-gether.’”

“‘I might have had husbands afore now’ (said Mercy) ‘though I spake not of it to any; but they were such as did not like my conditions, though never did any of them find fault with my person. So they and I could not agree.’”<sup>12</sup>

Even more remarkable is Bunyan’s sympathetic treatment of the “boys”; for example, the description of Matthew’s illness in the House of the Interpreter.

“When the potion was prepared, and brought to the boy, he was loath to take it, though torn with the gripes as if he should be pulled in pieces. ‘Come, come,’ said the physician, ‘you must take it.’ ‘It goes against my stomach,’ said the boy. ‘I must have you take it,’ said his mother. ‘I shall vomit it up again,’ said the boy. ‘Pray, Sir,’ said Christiana to Mr. Skill, ‘how does it taste?’ ‘It has no ill taste,’ said the doctor; and with that she touched one of the pills with the tip of her tongue. ‘Oh, Matthew,’ said she, ‘this potion is sweeter than honey. If thou lovest thy mother, if thou lovest thy brothers, if thou lovest Mercy, if thou lovest thy life, take it.’ So with much ado, after a short prayer for the blessing of God upon it, he took it and it wrought kindly with him.”<sup>13</sup>

*The Life and Death of Mr. Badman*, while inferior to *Pilgrim’s Progress*, of which it is the counterpart, is nevertheless a most interesting narrative. The dialogue framework is awkward, the hero’s character repulsive, and the sermons and argu-

<sup>12</sup> *Pilgrim’s Progress*, Offer ed. ii. 200-01.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 202.

ments too numerous, but these defects are almost counterbalanced. The personalities of the authoritative Mr. Wiseman and the eager Mr. Attention are nicely and consistently differentiated, the comments and moral reflections are all appropriate, the illustrative stories to the point, and the daily life of Badman, his wretched wife, and their neighbors, is pictured vividly and with wonderful precision. There could be no better proof of Bunyan's aesthetic sense than the simple description of the death of the heart-broken wife and the equally peaceful end of her wicked husband. In a few graphic phrases he sets a homely scene or dramatic situation before us more effectively than Richardson with his quantities of minute detail. Incidentally, it is interesting to find Bunyan using, though presumably without any intention to deceive, such a device for gaining credence as the backing up of one improbable story with another, and vouching for its truth on the reputation of the narrator, a device which we associate with Defoe.

*Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, is not, strictly speaking, fiction, but neither is it a literally true account of Bunyan's life. His sensitive conscience and vivid imagination caused him to picture his spiritual experiences in the most glaring colors. In relating these personal experiences he displayed great, though unconscious, art, in subordinating the unimportant, in elaborating the significant, in seizing dramatic possibilities, in blending the objective and subjective events of his life, and in firing the whole with his fervid religious enthusiasm. The *Holy War* has very little narrative element, but in common with all of Bunyan's work, it contains many interspersed anecdotes which would themselves prove his genius for story-telling.

As was to be expected, *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Mr. Badman*, and more particularly the former, were immensely popular. The first part of the allegory appeared in 1678, and had reached its fourteenth edition in 1702, and its twenty-fourth in 1743; while part II, which did not appear until 1684, was in its fourteenth edition in 1743. There were, moreover, a spurious second part; a burlesque *Hue and Cry after Conscience* (1684), at least two similar allegories by Benjamin Keach, *Travels of*

*True Godliness* (1684), and *The Progress of Sin* (1685), imitations so close as to be little better than redactions; and two verse versions of the original.<sup>14</sup> References, after 1700, are common, and although Young, Addison, Lady Mary Montague, and Swift, seem to have regarded it with varying degrees of condescension, there were a few, like Cowper, who perceived its literary merit, and whether complimentary or otherwise all these allusions indicate that the work was well known, if not admired, by the educated.<sup>14a</sup> By 1700, or at the latest 1719, when Gildon wrote, it was familiar to every child and had become part of the common inheritance of the nation.<sup>15</sup> It would seem natural then, for it to have had a strong influence on the narrative and on the development of fiction generally, but such is not the case. *An Account of some Remarkable Passages in the Life of a Private Gentleman; with Reflections thereon*<sup>15a</sup> (1708), shows not so much direct copying from *Pilgrim's Progress*, as the wide-spread interest in the portraying of the spiritual or moral life of a character. Passages like the following are unusual for though moral precepts were rife, religious fervor was rare.<sup>16</sup>

“O let my Soul Bless Thee, my dear God, that when I thus forsook Thee, Thou didst not, as I deserved, cast me off utterly. Wonder, O my Soul at thy own desperate folly, and the amazing Patience and Goodness of God! O never forget it, to maintain Humility, Watchfulness, Prayer and Continuous Praise.”

On the whole, Bunyan's work stands apart as the culmination

<sup>14</sup> One in 1698 by Ager Scholan, the other in 1700 by Francis Hoffman Gray. There is a full list in Brown's *Life of John Bunyan*.

<sup>14a</sup> For a collection of the various opinions expressed by the literary people of the eighteenth century see the *Saturday Review*, Aug. 7, 1880, XLVIII. 167.

<sup>15</sup> Charles Gildon writes in his *Life and Surprising Adventure of Mr. DeF.*, etc., 1719. “There is not any old Woman, that can go the Price of it, but buys thy Life and Adventures (of Robinson Crusoe) and leaves it as a Legacy with the Pilgrim's Progress, the Practice of Piety and God's Revenge against Murther to Posterity.” Quoted by Lee, *Daniel Defoe, his Life and Hitherto unknown Writings*, i. 298.

<sup>15a</sup> This work is sometimes, though erroneously, attributed to Defoe.

<sup>16</sup> In *The Autobiography*, p. 418, A. R. Burr lays considerable stress on the religious fervor and introspective qualities of the group of Quaker journals, some thirty-eight, written between 1660 and 1710.

of the allegory rather than among the sources of the novel of domestic life.

#### DANIEL DEFOE<sup>17</sup>

Daniel Defoe served his apprenticeship in literature as a journalist and throughout his life retained the journalistic point of view. His subjects are always opportune, his title-pages "catchy," his methods sensational, and his style colloquial. Yet his is a success not to be attributed merely to reportorial cleverness or literary trickery; on no such superficial basis would *Robinson Crusoe* have become a world classic. Just how much Defoe had done in the field of prose fiction prior to the publication of *Robinson Crusoe* in 1719 is uncertain. Training in narrative art was afforded by compilations of descriptive and illustrative anecdotes such as *The Storm* (1704), by expository accounts of political transactions such as *The Secret History of the October Club* (1711), *The Secret History of the White Staff* (1714), and the like. Moreover, as early as 1705, he had tried his hand at something like a political romance in *The Consolidator*, and the succeeding year in *The True Relation of the Apparition of one Mrs. Veal*, so long regarded as a pure invention,<sup>17a</sup> he had proved himself a master reporter. In the latter we find all the little devices for gaining credence—the abundant and often irrelevant detail, the plausible but fallacious reasoning, the apparent disinterestedness of the narrator, and the clever answering of doubts and misgivings—which are so conspicuous in his later writings. In 1715, we find him trying his favorite form, the autobiography, in the *History of the Wars of his present Majesty Charles XII, King of Sweden*, for he put the military history of that monarch in

<sup>17</sup> W. Lee, *Daniel Defoe: His Life and Recently Discovered Writings*, 3 vols., London, 1869.

*Novels and Miscellaneous Works*, etc., 20 vols., Oxford, 1840-41.

W. P. Trent, "Bibliographical Notes on Defoe," *The Nation*, June 6, July 11, Aug. 15, and 29, 1907; LXXXIV. 515; LXXXV. 29, 140, 180.

To Professor Trent I am greatly indebted for information and suggestions about Defoe's narratives.

<sup>17a</sup> Cf. "The Apparition of Mrs. Veal" by G. A. Aitken in *Nineteenth Century*, 37. 95, 1895.

the form of a memoir of a "Scots Gentleman in the Swedish Service." In 1718, came the *Continuation of the Letters of a Turkish Spy*,<sup>17b</sup> and finally, in *An Historical Account of the Voyages and Adventures of Sir Walter Raleigh* (1719), Defoe dealt with the material he utilized so largely in his narratives. Such, in the main, is what we know of the author's special preparation to write *Robinson Crusoe*, although it is not improbable that he revised or translated, in part at least, some of the numerous memoirs then current.

*The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, Mariner*, appeared on April 25, 1719, and on August 8, of the same year was reprinted for the fourth time. At about the same date as the fourth edition, Defoe published *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, Being the Second and Last Part of his Life*, and the ensuing year 1720, *Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe*, but neither of these is comparable to the first part, and indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that upon that alone rests the fame of the work. The universal and perennial interest of Crusoe's problem on the uninhabited island was developed to the utmost by the author's skilful treatment. In the hero, Crusoe, who successfully overcomes all his difficulties not by the help of unusual powers or supernatural assistance, but by ingenuity, pluck, and hard labor, we have a universal type; the embodiment of efficiency and the ideal of the practical man. This very human character is presented to us by Defoe with marvellous force and consistency. As Mr. Lee expresses it "every moment of his waking day is accounted for," we know his thoughts, his sensations, his hopes, his fears, his every movement. Crusoe is, however, primarily a man of action, and his sensations even in the classic instances of the discovery of the foot-print and Poll's calling him by name, are largely described in terms of the resultant action. The memoir structure is particularly happy, for it permits the hero to talk directly to the reader and gives an air of naturalness to the interpolated moralizations, explanations, and running comments on the past.

The second part, concerning Crusoe's adventures in "Three

<sup>17b</sup> Accepted as Defoe's by James Crossley and Professor Trent.

Parts of the World," although giving a vivid relation of travels in China and Russia and displaying Defoe's usual accurate knowledge and firm grasp of the subject, comes as an anti-climax to the more interesting episodes on the island. In the *Serious Reflections* the didactic element which is prominent throughout the narrative becomes paramount. Defoe did not write *Robinson Crusoe*, to inculcate a moral lesson in the sense that Bunyan wrote *Mr. Badman*, but on the other hand, his didacticism is no superficial and perfunctory compliance with the prevailing taste. A further unity is given to the narrative by the fact that all Crusoe's disasters arose out of his discontent with that "state of life unto which it had pleased God to call him." It was this discontent which induced him to run away to sea in defiance of the wishes of his parents, it was discontent again that led him to leave Brazil on his disastrous trip, and it was discontent that led him to leave home and children to revisit his island. Defoe regarded this restlessness as an evidence of presumption and ungodliness, invariably leading to a reckless life and a scornful disregard of warnings and admonitions. Disaster brought the hero to a recognition of his evil life and hence to repentance and reform. Defoe's religion, as exhibited in his fiction,<sup>17c</sup> is clear, practical, and very satisfactory, but painfully lacking in spirituality and emotion. He demanded little more than the acceptance of a general creed, compliance with certain ceremonies and observances, and obedience to moral precepts,—in a word the religion of common sense.

In *Captain Singleton*,<sup>18</sup> *Moll Flanders*,<sup>19</sup> *Colonel Jack*,<sup>20</sup> and *Roxana*,<sup>21</sup> Defoe combined material collected from the

<sup>17c</sup> In some of his tracts, as, for example, *Due Preparations for the Plague*, a much more spiritual religion is expounded.

<sup>18</sup> *The Life, Adventures, and Piracies of the Famous Captain Singleton, etc., 1720.*

<sup>19</sup> *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of Moll Flanders who was born in Newgate, etc., 1722.*

<sup>20</sup> *The History and Remarkable Life of the truly Honourable Colonel Jacque, vulgarly called Col. Jack, etc., 1726.*

<sup>21</sup> *The Fortunate Mistress; or a History of the Life and Vast Variety of Fortunes of Mlle. de Belau, etc., 1724.*

prolific criminal literature and the narratives of adventure. Except in so far as Defoe was dealing with crime from the point of view of the criminal, his narratives have little in common with the Spanish picaresque miscellanies. His models were the biographies of actual criminals, of which he himself wrote a number. With inimitable seriousness these very real, and very English, criminals tell us their plausible stories. They are not bad at heart, but are forced by circumstances into their evil ways, gradually become hardened, and go from bad to worse. Selfish they certainly are and they always have an eye to the main chance, but they are rarely ungrateful or unkind, nor have they any of the roguishness, cynicism, or cruel deviltry of the *picaro*. They are never entirely happy or contented, but are perpetually longing to desert their evil ways for an honest life, or rather, what that life stands for—respectability. They never do reform, however, till well on in years, when a life of adventure has little attraction. Capt. Singleton and Col. Jack, children of shame and social outcasts from childhood, become lawless sea rovers, the one a pirate, the other a contraband trader, and in the accounts of their voyages Defoe displays the most minute information as well as wonderful descriptive powers. Bob Singleton's trip across Africa is convincingly vivid and accurate. Moll and Roxana, likewise, are handicapped from childhood, but not to such an extent as Bob and Jack. Moll, being pretty and clever, attracted the attention of a wealthy lady who brought her up almost like one of her own children. Her ruin was wrought by the eldest son of her patroness. Thus in the opening chapters we have a situation somewhat similar to that in *Pamela*, but Moll did not display the wit and resolution of Richardson's heroine. Neither Moll nor Roxana are distinctively feminine, in fact, the difference in sex merely affects the nature of their adventures. It is curious that Defoe's characters although as substantial and, if I may say so, as tangible, as any in literature, possess little or no individuality—they are simply "human nature."

In structure, these narratives, like *Robinson Crusoe*, are autobiographic. *Roxana*, the only one of Defoe's stories, in

which there is an endeavor to develop a plot, is, I think, his most studied contribution to prose fiction.

Roxana, deserted by her husband, in order to obtain for herself the luxuries that she craves, deserts her children. For years she leads an evil, yet from her point of view, successful, life, but finally, when she has attained her ambition—a wealthy and titled husband—her ruin is brought about by the children she deserted. When her husband learns from them of her perfidious character he will have no more to do with her, and cuts her off absolutely in his will, so that she is taken to a debtor's prison, where, we are told, she dies repentant. (This part is in the continuation which may not be by Defoe.)

Although Defoe seems to have tried to individualize Roxana, even to give her peculiarly feminine traits and mannerisms, he failed to make her quite human. She is too calculating to make an appeal to our sympathies like the impulsive Moll Flanders. The minor characters are still more inconsistent and unnatural. Yet *Roxana* is a notable piece of work, for in it Defoe went a little higher in the social scale and thus came nearer to the novel of manners, and, more important, attempted the "circular plot," which at this time was practically unknown except in the cumbersome romances and brief novelettes. The plot, it must be admitted, is clumsy, many of the episodes are extraneous and many of the situations forced, but surely as an experiment it is not deserving of unmitigated censure.<sup>21a</sup> The didactic element is prominent for although Defoe chose crime for his subject and did not think it necessary to execute strict poetic justice by bringing all his heroes and heroines to an evil end, yet he tried to make his narratives as wholesome as possible, by emphasizing the miseries, uncertainties, and sufferings attendant upon vice. The next generation demanded a greater regard for the proprieties, and as a consequence, Noble revised Defoe's *Roxana* to make it conform to the Richardsonian standard.<sup>22</sup>

Defoe's other narratives, whether of real or fictitious characters, do not differ materially from those we have discussed.

<sup>21a</sup> Cf. Chandler, *Lit. of Roguery*, ii, 296-98.

<sup>22</sup> *The History of Mademoiselle de Beleau; or the new Roxana, the fortunate Mistress*, etc., F. Noble and T. Lowndes, London, 1775. The B. M. catalogue gives the date 1808; but Professor Trent tells me that in his copy the date 1775 is clearly printed.

In the justly praised *Memoirs of a Cavalier* (1720), and *A Journal of the Plague Year* (1722), he applied his reportorial methods to the past and produced such graphic pictures of the preceding century that both works have often been regarded as literally true. In *The History of the Life and Adventures of Mr. Duncan Campbell*, and in one or two pamphlets<sup>23</sup> dealing with the "dumb philosopher" in which Defoe seems to have had some part, we have a more or less fictitious biography of Campbell in Defoe's usual convincing manner, combined with realistic pictures of the philosopher's clientele and anecdotes dealing with magic, apparitions, and the like. The supernatural seems to have had a fascination for Defoe, since time and time again he returned to discussions of it, as for example in *The Political History of the Devil* (1726), *A System of Magick* (1726), and *An Essay on the History and Reality of Apparitions* (1727). Domestic life does not figure prominently in the narratives, but many interesting anecdotes and illuminating descriptions of contemporary manners occur in the aforementioned *Duncan Campbell* (1720) in such treatises as *The Compleat English Tradesman* (1725), *The Great Law of Subordination Considered* (1724), a discussion of the servant problem, and in manuals of conduct of which *The Family Instructor* (1718),<sup>24</sup> and *Religious Courtship* (1722) are the best.

The first of these little treatises discusses problems affecting family life. For example, one of the first illustrations concerns filial obedience. In a family which had been most irreligious and particularly negligent about the observance of the Sabbath, both parents suddenly resolved to reform, and without the least warning, issued orders on Sunday morning that the children were not to use the coach, play cards, go calling, read secular literature, or in short, indulge in any of their accustomed worldly pleasures. The oldest son and daughter, irritated by the peremptoriness of the decree and angered by the ruthless destruction of their novels and plays,

<sup>23</sup> As was remarked in connection with Mrs. Haywood, it is not quite clear which of these pieces are by Defoe and which by her.

<sup>24</sup> A similar treatise, the *New Family Instructor* appeared in 1729.

were most impudent and insubordinate, and only after many tempestuous scenes were brought to a proper sense of their duty. A pleasant contrast was afforded by the pious and servile behavior of the younger children. Defoe presents this material in a series of dialogues, or little scenes, connected by the necessary explanations. In *Religious Courtship* he employs the same method to show "the necessity of marrying religious husbands and wives only." A most attractive and wealthy suitor applied for the hand of the youngest of three sisters, thus proving he was seeking for her in particular and not merely for an alliance with the family. Although much flattered by his attentions, she resolved to obey the behest of her dying mother to marry only "a religious husband." Upon investigation, she found her promising suitor was of "no religion," so, though "it did violence to her inclinations," and brought down the wrath of her irreligious father, she rejected him. In time the young gentleman was brought to a consideration of his evil ways and under the guidance of a good old man, a poor tenant on his estate, became a most devout Christian. And in due course he married the lady, with whom he lived very happily for the rest of his life. The second sister did not concern herself with her suitor's religion but "left it all to her father," with the consequence that she found herself married to a "Papist." The husband lived only a few years, and in a discourse with her sisters shortly after his decease his widow expatiated on the sorrows of marrying even the best of men if he were of different religious convictions. Of the didactic eldest sister we are merely told that she married "a worthy man." In both these manuals there are other stories, and in all cases the slight plot is almost hidden by the didactic material. The characters are but slightly individualized,—indeed, are but mouth-pieces to expound Defoe's theories. Nevertheless, in these manuals Defoe brought the conduct-book as close to the novel of manners as was possible without running into the narrative form; we have a rudimentary plot, outlines of the characters, and a rough description of the setting and accessories. Moreover, in these two series of dialogues, not only do the characters talk

with much naturalness and directly to the reader, but each episode is discussed from several points of view, a device somewhat similar to that employed by Richardson in *Clarissa Harlowe*.

On Defoe's purely literary qualities—his admirable style, his various devices for giving the impression of verisimilitude, his wonderful powers of description and narration—it is not necessary to comment. Most of these devices may be found in rudimentary form in the works of his predecessors, Mrs. Behn, Mrs. Manley, John Bunyan, Mrs. Haywood, and the host of anonymous journalists, but never before had they been so artistically perfected and combined. And finally, Defoe was a man of genius; never before and rarely, if ever, since, has a writer been able to give to the fictitious such a semblance of the actual.

Defoe's influence on the development of prose fiction is very difficult to estimate. All his works, and particularly *Robinson Crusoe* were immediately popular in both England and France. But in them, as we have seen, the pseudo-journal and auto-biography culminated, further development along these lines was impossible. Mrs. Aubin, who made a point of imitating Defoe, simply added a goodly portion of adventure to a sentimental romance, and Abbé Prevost<sup>25</sup> whose somewhat closer imitation of Defoe, *Le Philosophe anglois* (1732-39), was translated as *The Life and Adventures of Mr. Cleveland, natural son of Oliver Cromwell*,<sup>26</sup> in 1736, added a political scandal, a love story, and sentimental descriptions of the Indians. To the novel of manners and sentiment, Defoe contributed directly, very little, but both *The Family Instructor* and *Religious Courtship* afforded many suggestions both as regards matter and manner. It would be interesting to know

<sup>25</sup> Abbé Antoine François d'Exiles who lived from 1691 to 1763, wrote many romances, chief of which is *Mémoires d'un Homme de Qualité* (1728-32), containing the famous story of *Manon Lescaut*. He wrote later the *Doyen de Killarine, historie morale* (1735), and translated among other things, Richardson's *Pamela*, *Clarissa*, and *Grandison*. Cf. Larousse, *Dictionnaire Universel du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*.

<sup>26</sup> This has even been attributed to Defoe.

if Richardson was particularly indebted to them.<sup>27</sup> On the whole, Defoe's significance in the history of fiction, over and above his actual contribution, rests not on the introduction of new forms or subjects, but on the perfecting of what was already in existence; and his influence is reflected less in imitations than in the firmer grasp, the more vigorous style, and the greater naturalism, displayed in all forms of literature.

<sup>27</sup> It is an interesting fact that Richardson printed and continued Defoe's *Tour thro' the whole Island of Great Britain*.

## CONCLUSION

In the foregoing discussion it has often happened that works of small value have been emphasized, while famous classics have been despatched in a few lines, and that at times, perhaps, too little attention has been paid to chronology, but the writer hopes she has succeeded in conveying a fairly accurate idea of the prose fiction current between 1600 and 1740 and of the tendencies which affected its development. Reviewing the subject very hastily from the chronological point of view, we may distinguish three periods; the first, extending from 1600 to 1660 or thereabouts, is characterized by the predominance of romance; the second, extending from about 1660 to the close of the century, by the vogue of the continental novels; and the third and final period extending from 1700 to 1740, by a growing independence and increased activity. The first period produced no English narratives of merit or of historical importance, but the famous sentimental, pastoral, allegorical and heroic romances of France—*Astrée*, *Argenis*, *Cléopatre*, *Cyrus*, etc.—were given an English dress. More popular than any of these was Cervantes's great comic romance *Don Quixote*, which indicates that a strong taste for realism already existed. About 1660, this taste for realism became so strong that the romances were superseded in popularity by realistic French and Spanish stories developed from the *novelle* and greatly modified during the process. Their chief characteristics, immorality, impudence, pretended veracity, abundant detail, and lively colloquial style, were imitated by Mrs. Behn, Mrs. Manley and others. Also to this period belong the influential *Letters of a Portugese Nun*, which had so marked an effect on the development of sentimentality and on the realism of emotional expression. Likewise to these years we owe the admirable narratives of John Bunyan, although the latter scarcely belong to the history of prose fiction.

During the third and last period were published the narratives of both Defoe and Swift, which fact in itself would be sufficient to make these years memorable, were they not noteworthy on other scores. In the first place, there was a change in the prevailing taste, due partly to a moral reaction and partly to various political, social, and economic causes which brought about changes in the character of the reading public. Sentimentalism, didacticism, a love of the picturesque and the sensational, a partiality for themes from domestic life, and a strong bent toward realism began to characterize fiction. In the development of structure and style, rapid progress was made. The periodical afforded an opportunity for the perfecting of such subsidiary forms as the "character," the letter, and the dialogue. In the *Sir Roger de Coverley Papers* the character-sketch culminated, for without plot further development was impossible. Likewise Defoe had perfected the simple narrative of adventure of the autobiographical type, and together with Mrs. Rowe had exploited the conduct-book. It remained to combine the various elements, to utilize the episodes of family life and to develop the plot. Some progress was made along these lines in the domestic histories of Mrs. Haywood, in the rambling stories of Mrs. Aubin, and in that little group of anonymous novels of which typical examples are *Lindamira*, *Love in a Madhouse*, and *Alexis and Sylvia*. During the forty years from 1700 to 1740, the rise of the novel of manners was particularly rapid. We can perceive direct progress toward Richardson; his device of the letters, his favorite situation of virtue contending with vice, his stock characters of the deluded girl and the gentlemanly rake, his excess of detail, his sentimentality, and his morality, not only existed, but were common.

## APPENDIX A

### SUMMARY OF PARTHENISSA

"The sun was already so far declined that the heat was not offensive, when a stranger richly armed, and proportionately blest with all the gifts of Nature and education, alighted at the Temple of Hieropolis in Syria, where the Queen of Love had settled an Oracle, as famous as the Deity to whom it had been dedicated. The stranger . . . commanded his servant to enquire out some retired lodging for him, which whilst he was so doing, his master walked about the sacred place, without so much as regarding the beauty and rareness of the structure and with so languishing and careless a pace, that those which considered it, easily judged 'twas chiefly the distemper of the mind which had so strong an influence over his body."<sup>1</sup> The priest Callimachus immediately perceived from the elegance of his manner that he had a guest of no mean rank, and with much humility begged him to unburden his breast. After many tears, sighs and apologies "for these effeminacies," the hero began his dolorous tale. His name was Artabanes, scion of the Median and Persian royal families, a general in the Persian army and the ardent lover of the divine princess Parthenissa. Long had he concealed his passion when there arrived at court the Ethiopian prince, Ambixerles, with pictures of his twenty-four ladies, who challenged to mortal combat, any knight so hardy as to maintain any woman living or dead, to exceed in beauty his peerless princesses. Artabanes, as the 'servant' of Parthenissa, immediately entered the lists and very shortly brought the Ethiopian to the feet of his mistress. In the fray, however, the hero had met with several injuries which, combined with his anxiety lest his fair mistress should be more enraged at his publishing his passion

<sup>1</sup>This is the conventional opening and is a direct imitation of the Greek. This episode occurs in *Polexandre*.

than pleased at the establishment of her perfection, brought him to such a sorry pass that had not the object of his affection, the fair Parthenissa herself, condescended to visit him, death would surely have carried him off. No sooner was he recovered than he was forced to enter the lists against a rival for the princess's favor, and a formidable rival too, no less a person than the King's favorite general, Surenna. The hero once more proved his prowess and his magnanimity, for having brought his opponent to the earth he graciously spared his life. Surenna was unworthy of such treatment since, being determined that Artabanes should not enjoy the favor of the lady, he resorted to the trick of dropping, in a spot where he knew the guileless Artabanes would surely find it, a forged note, wherein was indicated that he (Surenna) and the fair Parthenissa were on the friendliest terms. Artabanes found it, read it, believed it, and without more ado departed straightway for Rome. Here the narrator had occasion to mention his friend Artavasades and forthwith told of that unhappy man's love for the peerless Altazeera, whom the king had designed for Pacorus. To return to the main thread; Rome proved too gay for the melancholy Artabanes and he determined to remove to the Alps where he might nurse his sorrow in solitary grandeur, but, just as he was departing, a friend arrived from Persia, who laid bare Surenna's perfidy and the matchless constancy of the divine Parthenissa. [Here the feelings of the narrator overcame him, and he let the recounting of his adventures devolve upon his faithful servant Simander.]

When the generous Artabanes learned the truth, he set out for Persia, but on the way was seized by pirates and sold as a slave to Pompey. He soon managed to escape, aroused his companions and came forth at the head of an army as the historic Spartacus. He took Cyprus, where among his prisoners were Perolla and Isadora, who took turns in telling their woful history. Like Romeo and Juliet they were lovers belonging to rival houses between which there existed a bitter feud. And "although Perolla many times saved the life of Isadora's father, and though he deserted his own parent in the crisis of a battle for the sake of his fair mistress," her

father remained resolutely obstinate and designed her for Flamminius. That despised suitor was no sooner acquainted with the situation than he did all in his power to help the lovers. Then came Hannibal who took them prisoners and himself fell in love with the charming Isadora. To court her he gave over the toils of war to Maharbal, and at last we know why he did not march to Rome—Isadora persuaded him not to destroy the city of her birth. Death carried off Hannibal and the lovers returned to Cyprus where they were taken prisoners by Spartacus, before whom they laid the case of their thwarted love. The noble Spartacus having heard their tale and also that of their parents, decided in favor of the lovers and had them married in the presence of the assembled army and suddenly repentant fathers. At this point a messenger arrived who informed Spartacus, alias Artabanes, that Surena was poisoning the mind of the faithful Parthenissa, whereupon the general set sail for Persia.

Simander had reached this point when narrator and listener were startled by a great noise and, rushing toward the woods where they had seen Artabanes disappear, met him returning with a knight he had rescued from assassins. The stranger proved to be the valiant Artavasdes, whose love affair Artabanes had confided to the priest. After much persuasion he was induced to continue his story from the time of his banishment. During his absence pressure had been brought to bear upon the fair Altazeera to force her to marry the son of Mithridates, and upon his fortuitous death, the Prince Pacorus. The latter was severely wounded in battle, and Artavasdes, thinking death might ensue, determined to visit his lady. To this end he disguised himself as a menial, entered the king's service, and managed to be continually with the princess. But when he discovered himself, the lady fainted in his arms, which episode having been viewed by an enemy, would certainly have brought about the ruin of the pair, had not the ready lie of a servant and the generosity of Pacorus (who had miraculously recovered) come to the rescue. Shortly afterwards, Pacorus married Altazeera and the former, not being of a jealous disposition, treated the lover with great honor and

consideration and even went so far as to invite him to his court. But the broken-hearted Artavasdes preferred to retire to the Temple at Hieropolis.

Simander again took up the story of his master, and we are informed that Artabanes, after landing in Persia, came upon two men (only survivors of some scores) engaged in a death struggle, while a beautiful woman wearing a blue veil was being drawn wildly about the meadow by terrified horses. Without more ado, the hero immediately assisted the weaker of the combatants, but nevertheless it was not long before the latter was laid helpless upon the turf. The victor called a halt, proved himself to be Artabanes' friend, and explained that he had been fighting with Surenna for the possession of Parthenissa (the lady in the chariot) whom that villain had abducted. There were explanations and apologies on the part of Parthenissa and Surenna (who was not killed after all) and the whole party set out for home where they arrived after many adventures. On the return to court new trouble was in store for the lovers, for the King himself had fallen a victim to the charms of the peerless Parthenissa. Consequently, it was not long before Surenna, whom the king now regarded as a rival, was arrested on some pretext and executed in the public place amid the loud lamentations of the assembled multitude. Parthenissa, regarding her situation as hopeless, drank poison, and as in the instance of Cleopatra, her women shared her fate. As Simander was concluding his account, Callimachus received an answer from the oracle:

From Parthenissa's ashes I will raise  
A Phœnix; in whose Flames thou shalt be blest;  
Wait then about this Temple a few days,  
And all thy Torments shall be crowned with Rest.

Despair not Artavasdes, since the time,  
Predestined for thy sufferings is but brief;  
Fortune unto thy virtues shall resign;  
And perfect joy, succeed to equal Grief.

Go both and sacrifice to that fair Boy,  
Who did inspire my highest Grief and Joy.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Parthenissa*, p. 523.

While pondering upon the significance of this cryptic reply, the attention of the whole party was distracted by the landing of a youth and two beautiful ladies, one of whom was the exact image of Altazeera and the other of Parthenissa. They soon passed out of sight and the lovers marvelled much, but the generous Artavasdes knew his lady was a queen in Media and the noble Artabanes was equally sure his lady was dead, and both were certain that neither lady could be guilty of inconstancy. While they sat there waiting for the return of the strangers, Callimachus related his adventures. His real name was Ariobazanes, King of Pontus. He had madly loved Statira, daughter of Mithridates, and in return for the innumerable victories he had won for her father, had been promised her hand, but at the last moment Mithridates discovered that the King of Cyprus to whom he had formerly betrothed his daughter was not, as rumor reported, dead, so he broke his promise to Ariobazanes and constrained poor Statira to marry the King of Cyprus. The heart-broken lover had retired to Hieropolis and become a priest to Venus.

Here the story ends, or rather breaks off, leaving the reader to unriddle the oracle and guess who the strangers were.

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     Western wenches whose tongues albeit, like Bell-clappers  
     they never leave ringing yet their tales are sweet and will  
     much content you. Written by Kinde Kit of Kingstone*.  
     Ed. for the Percy Soc., 1848, v. xxii.

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     ed., London, 1907-08.

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CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE PROSE FICTION  
FIRST PRINTED IN ENGLAND BETWEEN  
1600 AND 1740

In the following bibliography, which is very far from complete, I have deliberately omitted all contributory forms such as character-sketches, dialogues, periodicals, conduct-books, chap-books, etc., unless they seemed unusually rare or were mentioned in the text, but have given some books of travel.

Directly after the title, in parenthesis, is given the source of my information, the library shelf-number,—Col (Columbia), Harvard, Advocates, Bodleian, or, if undesignated, the British Museum—the *S. R.* (*Stationer's Register*), the *T. C.* (*Term Catalogues*), or the reference work. In the last instance, I have simply used the author's name or editor's name as that was most easily identified in the alphabetical list of bibliographical sources. The only exception is in the case of Dr. Chandler: his *Literature of Roguery* I have indicated by *Lit. of R.*, his *Romances of Roguery* by *R. of R.*.

1600

1. *The Blackdog of Newgate.* By Luke Hutton. Possibly published earlier. (*Lit. of R.*, i. 112.)
2. *The Heroical Adventures of the Knight of the Sea.* For Wm. Leake. (Collier, ii. 217.)
3. *The Strange Fortunes of Two Excellent Princes [Fantimo and Penillo] in their lives and loves to their equall Ladies in all the titles of Honour.* By N. Breton. (Bodleian).

1601

4. *The Strangest Adventure that ever happened . . . containing a discourse . . . of the King of Portugal, Dom Sebastian.* Part I.

Translated by Anthony Munday from the Spanish by Jose Teixeira through the French of an anonymous writer. Part II, 1602. Both parts were relicensed September 27, 1602. (Underhill, p. 47.)

1602

5. *Greenes Ghost Haunting Conie-Catchers . . . with the conceits of Doctor Makeshift.* By Samuel Rowlands.  
(C. 40. d. 40.)  
Another edition, 1664.

1603

6. *A Mad World my Masters.* By Nicholas Breton.  
A punning dialogue.
7. *A True and Admirable Historie of a Mayden in Confolens in the Province of Poictiers; that for the space of three yeares and more hath lived and yet doth without receiv- ing either meate or drinke.* [Translated by Anthony Munday.] (Gay.)
8. *A True and Strange Discourse of the Travails of two English Pilgrims.* By Henry Timberlake. (G.6722.)  
This more or less authentic account of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem was reprinted in slightly modified versions in 1608, 1609, 1611, 1616, 1620 and 1683. The last edition contained material added by the editor, R. Burton, i. e., Nathaniel Crouch, and was adver- tised under the title of *Two English Pilgrims*.

1604

9. *Grimellos Fortunes, with his Entertainment in his Travels.*  
By Nicholas Breton. (12330.b.24.)  
This is a somewhat picaresque miscellany in dialogue form.

1605

10. *The First and Second partes of the Famous History of Evoradmus, Prince of Denmarke with his adventures and fortunes in love.*  
Licensed February 12, for Banckworth, but I have found no further record of the book.
11. *The Life and Death of Gamaliel Ratsey, a famous Theefe of England.* (Bodleian and Lit. of R. i. 143.)  
Reprinted by J. P. Collier in *Ill. of Old Eng. Lit.*
12. *The Most Famous and Delightful History of Urano, other- wise called the Greene Knight and the most beautiful*

*Princesse Beroshia, Daughter to Lucius, King of  
Brittaine.*

Licensed for Francis Burton, September 9, but I have found no further mention.

13. *The Practises of Elizabeth Caldwell.* (*Lit. of R.*, p. 148). A cheap pamphlet relating her crimes.
14. *The School of Slovenrie.* Dekker's translation of Dedeckind's *Grobianus*. Revised in 1609 as the *Guls Hornebooke*. (C.27.b.7.)
15. *A True Relation of God's Wonderful Mercies in preserving one alive which hanged five days who was falsely accused, i. e., John Johnson.*  
By John Johnson of Antwerp.  
A variation appeared in Edinburgh in 1706.
16. *Vincentio and Margaret.*  
Licensed in November for Valentine Syms but not mentioned elsewhere.

1606

17. *The Countess of Bedford's Arcadia, begynninge where the Countesse of Pembroke's Endes.*  
Licensed January 6, for Edward Alde but so far as I know not mentioned elsewhere.
18. *Eliosto Libidinoso . . . Wherein their imminent danger is declared, who guiding the course of their life by the compasse of Affection, either dashe their ship against most dangerous shelves or else attaine their haven with extreame prejudice.* By John Hind.

This seems to be the same as Greene's *Card of Fancie*, reprinted in 1608, *Wherein the folly of those Carpet Knights is deciphered which guiding their courses by the compass of Cupid, either dash their ship against more dangerous rocks or else attaine the haven with pain and peril &c.*

It is the *Debate between Follie and Love* translated out of the French of Louise Labé.

1607

19. *The Pastoralls of Julietta divided into five parts.* Translated from the French of Ollenix du Mont-Sacré [1592-98] by Gervase Markham.

Licensed for Thos. Creede, Nov. 11, 1609.

Another rendering by Robert Tofte under the title of *Honour's Academy or the Famous Pastoral of the Fair Shepherdess Julietta* appeared in 1610.

20. *The Pleasant and Delightful History of Tom of Lincoln, The most valiant and renowned Red-Rose Knight; surnamed for his many wonderful exploits, the Glory and Pride of England. Containing an account of his princely birth, strange education, noble and valorous exploits at home and abroad; his amours with the Queen of Fairy; his marriage with the Emperour of Ethiopia's Daughter etc.*

Reprinted in 1625, 1631, 1635, 1655 "the ninth," 1682 and so on.

1608

21. *The Belman of London.* By Thos. Dekker. (C.44.c.20.)

An enlarged version appeared in 1609 as *Lanthorne and Candlelight* and was reprinted in 1612 with *O per se O*, and under the title of *Villanies Discovered*, in 1616, and with additions and variations as *English Villanies* in 1638, 1640 etc., reaching the ninth edition in 1648. (*Lit. of R.*, i, 106-110.)

22. *St. George's three sons, the lively sparks of nobility.* By Richard Johnson. (Quaritch.)

Part III. appeared in 1616 and a metrical version in 1622.

1609

23. *The Discovery of a New World; or a Description of the South Indyes hitherto unknown.* By an English Mercurye. (Begley.)

This is a translation of *Mundus Idem et Alter. Sive terra Australis itineribus Peregrini Academici Lustrata. Auctore Mercurio Britanico*, i. e., Joseph Hall, of which Latin editions were printed in 1607 at Hanover and Frankfurt. The Latin edition was entered on the S.R. for John Porter, June 2, 1604, and on August 4, 1608, it was assigned to Leonard Greene; but the translation of 1609-10 seems to be the earliest edition printed in England. It was re-

printed and bound with the *New Atlantis* in 1643, and again in 1680. (Begley.)

24. *The Famous Whore, or Noble Courtizan, containing the lamentable Complaint of Paulina, the famous Roman Courtizan, sometime mistress unto the great Cardinal Hippolyte of Este. Translated from the Italian by C. Markhune.* [G. Markham?] (Gay.)
25. *The Man in the Moon telling Strange Fortunes to the English Fortune Teller.* By M. W. (232.f.11.)  
A book of character-sketches satirizing vices.

1610

26. *Euphormionsis Lusinini Satyricon.* By John Barclay.  
The earliest extant edition of Pt. I is that printed in Paris in 1605, but in all probability a version had appeared in London in 1603. Pt. II was added in 1607; parts III and IV were included in the editions printed at London in 1610 and at Oxford in 1614. A continuation by Morisot was printed in 1625.  
It was translated in 1631 as the *Mirror for Mindes* by Thos. May who took his title from Pt. II, *Icon Animorum*.

27. *The Madde Pranckes of Merry Mall of Banckside.*

Licensed August 7 for Henry Gossen.

A cheap pamphlet relating the popular and well-known misdeameanors of Longa Margarita which had already been reported in ballads and broadsides. (*Lit. of R.*, i. 144.)

1612

28. *The Heroik Life and Deplorable Death of the most Christian King, Henry the fourth.* Translated from P. Mathieu by Ed. Grimston (Upham).
29. *The History of the valorous and witty Knight-errant Don Quixote of the Mancha.* By M. de Cervantes Saavedra translated out of the Spanish. By T. Shelton.  
Part II appeared in 1615, and is generally attributed to Shelton but Quaritch doubts if he were the translator. New editions appeared in 1652 and 1675. The translation by John Phillips appeared in 1687; an abridged

version in 12s in 1689, 1695, and 1721. Stevens's translation was printed in 1705 as was also his translation of Le Sage's continuation.

30. *The Most Famous . . . History of that worthie Knight Mervine. First composed in rhyme and after translated into French prose whence it is now reduced.* By T. M., Gent. (1074. b. 35.)  
A late chivalric romance.

1613

31. *The Admirable History of the Possession and Conversion of a penitent seduced by a magician.* Translated by W. B. (8630.d.39.)  
32. *Looke on Me London I am an Honest Englishman.* By R. J., i. e., R. Johnson. (C.40.)  
A satirical attack on the vices and abuses of London.  
33. *The Plain Man's Pilgrimage or Journey towards Heaven.* By W. W[ebster].  
This rare little allegory is cited by Wharey.  
34. *The Second and Last parte of the first booke of the Englishe Arcadia.* By Gervase Markham. (C.39.h.8.)  
Printed in all later editions of the *Arcadia*.

1615

35. *The Famous History of the Seaven Champions of Christendom. In Two Parts.* By R. Johnson. (12614.d.)  
This clumsy compilation of old chivalric material has been described as "all the lies of Christendom in one lie." Nevertheless it proved very popular and was reprinted in 1620?, 1630?, 1670?, 1696, 1719, 1722 and probably oftener.  
36. *The Honourable Prentice, or this Taylor is a Man.* (Lit. of R. i. 73.)  
i. e. Sir John Hawkwood who figures in Deloney's *Thomas of Reading*.  
Other editions 1616, 1668 and 1687, the last two under the title *The Honour of the Merchant-Taylors*, by Wm. Winstanley.

1616

37. *The Table of Cebes, the Theban.* Translated by John Healy. (Wharey.)

1617

38. *Comptiers Commonwealth.* By William Fennor. (1077, i.6.)

Reissued in 1619 as *The Miseries of a Jaile*, in 1629, as *A True Description of the Lawes, Justice, and Equity of a Compter*, and in 1638, as the *Discovery of a London Monster*. (*Lit. of R.*, i. 140.)

1618

39. *The Roman Histories of L. J. Florus.* Translated by E. M. Bolton. (803, b.10.)

Reprinted in 1636 and translated by J. Davies in 1669. (1306.0)

40. *The Spanish Mandeville of Myracles, or the Garden of Curious Flowers . . . first written in Spanish by Anthonio de Torquemeda.*

An entertaining volume of wonderful and marvellous stories, some of which are drawn from the lands of the New World. (Quaritch, iv. 709.)

41. *True and Wonderful History of Perkin Warbeck* by Thomas Gainford. (*Lit. of R.*, i. 154.)

1619

42. *The Pleasant Historie of John of Winchomb.* By Thomas Deloney.

This is the earliest edition extant. It was reprinted in 1626, 1630, 1633, 1637 and later.

43. *The Travels of Persiles and Sigismunda. A Northern History, wherein amongst the variable Fortunes of the Prince of Thule, and the Princess of Frisland, are interlaced many Witty Discourses, Morall, Politicall, and Delightful. The first copie being written in Spanish; translated afterward into French; and now, last into English.* (1074.h.28.)

Reprinted in 1639.

1620

44. *The Decameron, containing an Hundred pleasant Novels Wittily discoursed betweene seaven Honourable Ladies and Three Noble Gentlemen.* Translated into English

from the Italian of Giovanni Boccaccio. 2 v. folio.  
(86.k.2.)

It was reprinted in 1625 under the title, *The Model of Wit, Eloquence, and Conversation framed in ten days, of an hundred curious pieces by seaven ladies and three gentlemen*; in 1657, as *Boccaccio's Tales or the Quintessence of Wit*; and under slightly varying titles in 1702, 1722, and 1741.

45. *The Famous History of Tom Thumb*. By Richard Johnson.

A prose version of the old songs. (*Lit. of R.*, i. 65.)

46. *The History of Astrea: the first part in twelve books, newly translated out of the French*.

Fry, p. 365, says that only a portion of the original was translated, books 10, 11 and 12 being compressed into one.

There was another translation in 1657.

On October 17, 1611, *L'Astrée de Messire Honoré Durfée* was licensed for Lowndes "to be printed in English when it is further authorized and allowed," but it does not seem to have been published.

47. *The History of Friar Rush*.

A prose refacimento of old songs and legends. (*Lit. of R.*, i. 56.)

48. *The Way to the Celestial Paradise*. By Robert Whittell.  
(4403.g.)

A religious tract with little or no narrative interest.

49. *Westward for Smelts*. By Kit of Kingston.

A collection of short tales which had long been current. Stevens cites an edition of 1603, but the earliest extant is the one of 1620 mentioned by Collier, and edited in 1848, by Halliwell-Phillipps for the Percy Society.

50. *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania*. By Lady Mary Wroth. (Sommer.)

51. *The Reformed Spaniard*. By De Nicholas and John Sacharles. Translated from the Latin. (Upham.)

A French version was entered in 1622. (Upham.)

52. *The Triumphs of God's Revenge against the crying and*

*execrable Sin of (Willful and Premeditated) Murder.*  
By John Reynolds. (12403.aaa.29.)

The whole in six parts, comprising the thirty tragical stories, was issued in 1635 and reprinted in 1639, 1640, 1657, 1662 and, with the addition of *God's Revenge against Adultery*, in 1670, 1679, 1708 and 1770.

## 1622

53. *The Pilgrim of Casteel or the Fortunes of Lamphilus and Nisa.*

To be licensed for John Norton "if more authority be granted," but apparently it was not printed.

54. *Portraiture of the Nine Worthies of the World*, i. e., Mahomet, Soliman, Tamberlaine, Charles V., Scanderbeg, Henry IV. of France, Henry V, the Black Prince, and Sir Philip Sidney.

Licensed for Holland, March 30.

55. *The Pursuit of the Historie of Lazarillo de Tormes.* By Jean de Luna.

Reprinted independently in 1631 and 1655, and with the first part in 1624, 1639, 1653 and in Blackston's version in 1669-70.

56. *The Rogue: or, the Life of Gusman de Alfarache.*  
Translated from the Spanish of Aleman [Madrid 1599-1605] by James Mabbe. (Bodleian.)

Reprinted in 1633 with Mabbe's version of the *Tragi-Comedy of Calisto and Melibea*. It was epitomized by "A. S., Gent." in 1655, and reissued in 1700; a translation of the French version appeared in 1708.

## 1623

57. *The Life and Death of Griffin Flood.* (Lit. of R., i. 146.)

## 1625

58. *Barclay his Argenis: or the Loves of Poliarchus and Argenis.* By John Barclay [Paris 1621]. Translated by Kingesmill Long.

It was entered on the registers for the "Partenors in the Latten stocke" as early as June 29, 1622, and

a translation by B. Jonson was licensed for Blount, October 2, 1623, but Long's version seems to be the first edition printed in England. In 1625, Seile reprinted Long's translation with the verses by May. In 1626-7, Jan. 18, Islip petitioned for "further authorization" but probably his request was not granted, for we next hear of the *Argenis* as being translated by Robert de Guys and printed by Meighen. In 1635, Seile issued a "discourse or key," and printed it with Long's version the next year. In 1639, he got out an epitome. In 1669 Bugnot's continuation appeared. The *Argenis* was advertised in the *T. C.* for Hillary Term 1674, and in the next century, 1734, a new translation was made by Mr. John Jacob, and printed in Dublin. For further information about this last translation see an article by Ed. Bensly in *Mod. Lang. Review*, April, 1909, iv, p. 392.

## 1626

59. *Almanzor, the learned and victorious King that Conquered Spayne.*

Licensed November 4, Robert Asley for Stansbye.

60. *The Isle of Man, or Legal Proceedings in Manshire.* By Richard Bernard. (1018.bb.9.)

Other editions in 1640, 1648, 1676, the fifteenth; 1683, the sixteenth.

## 1627

61. *The New Atlantis. A worke unfinished, written by the Rt. Hon. Francis [Bacon] Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Albans. With Silva Sylvarum* (Quaritch).

Reprinted eleven times by 1676; in 1660, with a continuation by R. H., Esq.; in 1670, as "the ninth edition, with the author's life newly added"; in 1676, with a continuation by Joseph Glanvill. In 1636 it was translated into French.

62. *A Sixth Booke to the Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia. . . .*  
Written by R[ichard] B[eling]. (12403.g.13.)

63. *The Famous Historie of Fryer Bacon &c.* (1077, e.58.)

A mss. note says that this is the oldest extant edition of this popular old tale.

Reprinted in 1630?, 1661, 1666, 1715?, 1750?, 1766, etc.

1628

64. *The True History of the Tragick Lovers of Hippolito and Isabella, Neapolitans. Englished.* Preceded by a poem addressed to the 'Whim' signed G. C. (12613.a.)

Second edition 1633.

This is presumably translated from the *Histoire des tragiques amours d'Hippolyte et d'Isabelle, Napolitains*, Nyort, 1597; reprinted as *Les Étranges Aventures d'Hippolyte et d'Isabelle*, Paris, 1630. Reynier ascribes the work to Pierre Mathieu.

Langbaine gives this novel as the source of Middleton's *Women beware Women*.

1631

65. *The Mirrour for Mindes.* Translated by Thomas May from the *Icon Animorum* of John Barclay which appeared in 1614. (526.g.)

Cf. no. 26, 1610.

1632

66. *Eromena; or Love and Revenge . . . Now faithfully Englished . . . from the Italian [of Biondi which appeared in 1624] by J. H.<sup>1</sup>* (12470.k.9).

67. *Gerardo, The Unfortunate Spaniard: or a pattern of lascivious lovers; containing strange miseries of loose affections.* Made English by L[eonard] D[iggs] [From the Spanish of Céspedes y Meneses] (E. 1234.b).

It was licensed for Blount as early as March 11, 1622, was reprinted in 1653, and consists of a succession of unhappy love stories related in ornate grandiose style.

<sup>1</sup>According to Howell, "J. H." is J. Howard, for in a letter addressed to him and dated Oct. 6, 1632, he commends his translation of *Eromena* and encloses some verses (*Familiar Letters*, ed. J. Jacobs, London, 1892, i, 329.); but Fry, p. 21, and the B. M. catalogue agree that it was Jasper Heywood. According to T. Cooper, *D.N.B.*, the latter died in 1598. Fry describes the work as a folio but the B. M. copy is a quarto.

68. *The History of George à Greene.* By Richard Johnson.  
A prose version of the old ballads. (Thoms.)
69. *The History of St. Elizabeth, daughter of the King of Hungary.* By H. A. (Ellis and White, no. 47.)
70. *Hollandes Leaguer or an Historical Discussion of the Life and Actions of Donna Brittanica Hollandiza.* By Nicholas Goodman.  
This picaresque novel is founded on fact.  
It furnished Shakerley Marmion with the material for a play of the same name.
71. *Unhappie Prosperity expressed in the Histories of Elius Seianus and Phillipa the Calanian.* Written in French by Pierre Mathieu and translated by Sir Thomas Hawkins. (1605.cc.)  
A second edition was issued in 1639.

1633

72. *Pantaleonis Vaticinia, Satyra.* By Jacob Hume. Ratho-magii (Begley).

1634

73. *Certain Select Dialogues of Lucian together with his true History.* Translated from the Greeke . . . by Mr. F. Hickes. Oxford. (1671.k.17.)  
In 1637, Thos. Heywood translated *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas out of Lucian*, in 1664, Sir Jasper Mayne translated the *Dialogues and Somnium*; in 1684, a rhymed version of the latter appeared; in 1711, *The Works of Lucian* were translated by "T. Brown and several Hands"; and in 1727, W. Moyle published *Translations from Lucian*.

1634

74. *Eryci Puteani Comus sive Phagesiposia Cimmeria. Somnium.* Oxford. (Begley)  
Previously printed at Louvain in 1609 and 1611.  
It was translated into French in 1613 as *Comus, ou Banquet dissolu des Cimmeriens. Songe.* This French translation may be the original of the *Cimmerian Matron* of 1668.

75. *A Saxon Historie of the Admirable Adventures of Clodaldus and his Three Children.* Translated out of the French of C. N. by Sir Thomas Hawkins. (Huth.)
76. *The Troubled-spirited Man's Departing; or a Wonderful Relation of the wilfull murder committed by Thomas Mince . . . upon his own person with the true copy of a letter written by his hand.* 4. (E. 690.(2).)
- A news-sheet.

1635.

77. *Amanda, or the Reformed Whore.* By Thomas Cranley. This verse and prose narrative was reprinted in 1639 as *The Converted Courtezan; or the Reformed Whore. Being a true relation of a penitent. . . . under the name of Amanda.* (c.30.e.33.)
78. *The Arcadian Princess; or the Triumph of Justice . . . from the Italian* by R. Brathwaite. A verse and prose narrative.
79. *Donzella Desterrada, or the Banished Virgin.* Written originally in Italian by Cavalier Geo. Francesco Biondi . . . divided into three books and Englished by J. H. of Graies Inn, Gent.<sup>1</sup> (12470.k.10.)
80. *The History of Blanchedyne.* Sold to George Blackwell, Nov. 4, but not mentioned elsewhere.
81. *The History of the Serrail and of the Court of the Grand Seigneur, Emperor of the Turkes.* Translated from the French of M. Boudier. [Paris, 1624.] (Upham)
82. *A Tragi-comical History of Our Times under the Borrowed Names of Lisander and Calista.* Translated from the French of G. de Costa [Paris, 1615] by W. D. (Col.) Although licensed for Latham as early as August 25, 1626, this seems to be the first edition. It was reprinted in 1652. An incomplete version by W[illiam] B[arwich] under the title of *Love and Valour* etc. appeared in 1638.

<sup>1</sup> See note 1, p. 164.

1636

83. *Ariana.* In two parts. As it was translated out of the French of J. Desmarests de Saint Sorlin. (134.n.2.)

Reprinted in 1641.

1637

84. *Clidamus or Sicilian Tale.*

Licensed February 25 for Thos. Payne but I have found no further record.

85. *Endimion de Gombauld.* Translated out of the French [Paris, 1624] by Richard Hurst. (Upham.)  
A second edition appeared in 1639.

86. *Icaria.* By John Bissell 1638. (1052.a.1.)

87. *Four True Tragi-Comical Histories of our Late Times by the names of The Lady Cornelius, The Force of Blood, The Two Damsels, and The Spanish Lady.* By Don Diego Puedeser. Translated from the Spanish of Cervantes [1613] by James Mabbe.

Other editions are as follows:

1640, *The Exemplarie Novels; in sixe books . . . full of various accidents both delightful and profitable & Turned into English by Don Puedeser, i. e., James Mabbe.* 1654, the above reprinted as *Delight in Several Shapes.* 1694, *Select Novels, The first six by Miguel de Cervantes . . . the other by Francis Petrarch tr. by Wm. Pope.* 1709, *El Zeloso Estremeno; the jealous Estramaduran, a Novel; with the Fair Maid of the Inn; the History of the Captive; the Curious Impertinent; the Prevalence of Blood; the Liberal Lover; and the Rival Ladies.* 1728, *A Collection of Select Novels, written originally in Castillian . . . made English by Harry Bridges.* Bristol. 1729, *A Select Collection of Novels and Histories.* Ed. Samuel Croxall.

88. *Histoire de Larrons or the History of Theeves written in French [in 1636] and translated out of the original by P. G. (Upham and B. de A.)*

89. *The Lives and Singular Vertues of Saint Elzear, Count of Sabran and his Wife.* Translated from the French of Etienne Binet, by Sir Thomas Hawkins. (10604.cc.)

1638

90. *The Comical History of the States and Empires of the Worlds of the Moon and the Sun.* Translated from the French of Cyrano de Bergerac [Paris, 1638] by A. Lovell. (Upham.)

Another edition, (the earliest recorded in *B. M.* catalogue) appeared in 1687.

91. *The Man in the Moone; or a Discourse of a Voyage Thither by Domingo Gonsales, the speedy messenger, i. e., Francis Godwin.*

Reprinted with *Nuncius Inanimatus* and as "By F. G., B. of H." in 1657. French translations were printed in 1648 and 1671 and German in 1659 and 1660.

92. *The Sonne of the Rogue or the Politick Theefe. With the Antiquities of Theeves. First Written in Spanish by Don Garcia, Afterwards translated into Dutch and then into French by S. D'Audiguier. Now Englished by W. M.* (12330.a.31.)

In 1650, a duplicate was printed with the title *Lavernae, or the Spanish Gypsy: the whole art, mystery, antiquity, company, noblenesse, and excellency of theeves and theeving;* and in 1659, it was reprinted as *A Scourge for a Den of Thieves.*

93. *The Unfortunate Politique. From the French of C. N.*  
By G[eorge] P[icot], Oxford. (Upham.)

1639

94. *A Boulster Lecture . . . the History of Philocles and Doriclea.* By Philogines Pandinius.

Licensed November 25, for Bishop.

95. *The Court Secret, a Novel.* A political satire by P. B., i. e., Peter Belon.

This may be the same as *The Court Secret, a melancholy Truth Translated,* advertised in 1741.

96. *An Epitome of all the Lives of the Kings of France. . . .*

*Translated out of the French Copy by R. B. Esq. [R. Brathwaite]. (G. 140. 22.)*

97. *Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine Worthy Women, three Jews, three Gentiles, and three Christians.*  
By T[homas] H[eywood].

Licensed Sept. 23, for R. Roiston.

98. *The History of Anaxander and Orazia.* Translated by William Duncomb from Boisrobert's *Histoire Indiana*, Paris, 1629.

Licensed March 3.

There was another edition by "W. G." in 1657.  
(Upham.)

99. *The Isle of Pines, or a late Discovery of a fourth island near Terra Australis Incognita, by Henry Cornelius von Sloetten, i. e., Henry Neville.*

The island is supposed to be inhabited by the descendants of an Englishman named George Pines, amounting in the fourth generation to about ten thousand persons. Dull and coarse. (Quaritch.)

100. *Hell Reformed or the Seventh Vision of Don Ffrancisco Quevedo, with Lucifer's decree in the behalf of the Lady Prosperity.*

Licensed Feb. 7, for Symon Burton.

101. *The Love and Arms of the Greek Princes, or The Romant of Romants.* Written in French by Monsieur Verdier [1626] and translated for Philip, Earle of Pembroke and Montgomery, Lord Chamberlaine to his Majesty.  
By Saulnier. 3 tom. folio. (837.1.27.)

102. *The Spanish Gallant of Dantisso* translated by William Styles.

Licensed May 2, for Lee.

103. *The Tragi-comical History of Alexander and Angelica, containing the Progress of a zealous and masculine Love.* (1076.b.9.)

A novel of the narrative-comedy type and almost certainly a translation; possibly of R. Montagathe's *Angélique*, Paris, 1626.

104. *A True and Strange Relation of seven years slavery under the Turkes of Algeres, suffered by an English captive Merchant.*

Licensed March 16 for Sparkes.

There were many pamphlets on this subject.

105. *The Two Lancashire Lovers: or the Excellent History of Philocles and Doriclea. Expressing the faithful constancy and mutual fidelity of two loyal lovers. By Musaeus Palatinus Pereo.*

Printed by Edward Griffin for R. B. [Brathwaite?]

The only mention of this work occurs in the Huth Catalogue where it is described as a prose and verse narrative. Is it the same as *The Boulster Lecture*, 1639? See no. 94.

1641

106. *The Academy of Love Describing ye Folly of Young Men and the Fallacy of Women. By J. Johnson. (G. 10447.)*

107. *The Kingdom of Macaria. By Samuel Hartlib.*

Reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*, iv. 380.

Macaria is the name of the Utopian island in *Commentariolus de Eudaemonensium Republica* by Gaspar Stiblin [Basle, 1553]. (Begley.)

108. *The Life of Merlin surnamed Ambrosius etc. (2473.13.)*  
A compilation of the history of England. (Quaritch.)

109. *The Memorials of Margaret de Valois. Translated by Robert Codrington from the Mémoires de la Reynne Marguerite [Paris, 1628]. (10661.b.)*  
Reprinted in 1658, 1666.

1642

110. *The Just Reward of Rebels; or the Life and Death of Jack Straw and Wat Tyler.*

Reissued in 1654 as *The Idol of the Clowns or the insurrection of Wat the Tyler* [by J. Cleveland]. (1325.a.)

1643

111. *The Pathway to Peace with Truth and Holiness. (E. 1181.(1).)*

Reprinted in 1720 as *A Plain Pathway to Heaven &c.*  
A homily with very slight narrative interest.

1644

112. *Dodona's Grove or the Vocall Forest.* By James Howell.  
Part I in 1644. Part II, 1645.  
A second edition was printed 1649-50 for Mosely.  
(Col. 823.h.83 Pl.)

1645

113. *A Strange and Wonderful Example of God's Judgment shewed upon J. Brathwaite of Shoreditch.* (E. 305.(ii.))  
A news-sheet.

1646

114. *The Life and Death of the illustrious Robert, Earl of Essex.*  
By R. Codrington. (E. 1468(2.))  
Reprinted in 1744.  
I do not know how large a part fiction plays in this biography.

1647

115. *Aurora and the Prince by Don J. P. de Montalvan [Novela I of Successos y Prodigios de Amor] and Oronta, the Cyprian Virgin [a poem] by Sign. Girolamo Preti.*  
Translated by T[homas S[tanley]]. (E. 1146(1).)  
Reprinted with modifications in 1650.
116. *'Εροταπαγγιον; or the Cyprian Academy.* By Robert Baron, Gent. (643.b.19.)  
A romance in prose and verse interspersed with masques and songs.
117. *The Dwell a Married Man &c.* Translated from Machiavelli's *Belphegor.*  
Also contained in *Select Collection of Novels*, 1722.
118. *The History of Polexandre*, in five books. Translated from the French of Gomberville [Paris, 1632] by William Browne.

1648

119. *The Late Storie of Mr. William Lilly* [concerning his

transactions with the Lady Arabella Scroope] (E. 425.(3).)

A political pamphlet.

120. *Nova Solymae Libri Sex.* (C.62.a.7.)

Translated and printed by Walter Begley, London, 1902.

1649

121. *The Confession of R. B. [Richard Brandon] the hangman (upon his death bed) concerning his beheading his late Majesty Charles the 1st.* (669.f.14(51).)

A reprint and two variations appeared the same year.

122. *The History of the most illustrious lady Queen Margaret daughter to Henry II.* Translated by R. Codrington from the French. (Upham.)

123. *Plantagenet's Tragical Story; or the death of king Edward the fourth.* By T. Weaver, Gent. (Halliwell.)

This may be verse.

1650

124. *A Continuation of Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia wherein is handled the Loves of Amphialus and Helena, Queen of Corinth; Prince Plangus and Erona; with the History of the Loves of old Claius and Strephon to Urania.* Written by a Young Gentlewoman, Mrs. A[nn]a W[eames]. (Sommer.)

A "second edition" was advertised in the *T. C.* for May, 1690, by Nathaniel Crouch.

125. *The Flower of Fidelitie.* By John Reynolds. (E.1236. (1).)

The fourth edition was advertised in the *T. C.* for May, 1692, as *The Garden of Love and Royal Flowers of Fidelity.*

126. *History of the most Renowned Queen Elizabeth and her Great Favorite the Earl of Essex. A Romance.*

Translated from the French of Devereux. (12613.d.)

It was reprinted in 1680, as *The Secret History of Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Essex.* Another edition appeared in 1690 and it was advertised in the *T. C.* for May, 1703.

127. *The Loving Enemy.* Translated by Major Wright from the French of John Peter Camus. (Upham.)

1652

128. *Choice Novels and Amorous . . . Tales; written by the most refined Wits of Italy; newly translated into English.* (Bodleian.)
129. *The English Gusman, or the History of that Unparalleled Thief James Hind.* By George Fidge. (E.651.20.)  
Reprinted in 1692 as *The Notorious Impostor.*
130. *The Fables of Aesop paraphrased in verse, and adorned with sculptures.* By John Ogilby.  
In 1666 R. Codrington published a translation, in 1698 there was a Latin edition by Anthony Alsop and in 1703, two other translations, *Aesop's Fables with his Life, in English, French, and Latin*, the English translation is in verse by Mrs. Behn (Quaritch), and *Aesop's Fables, in English and Latin, interlineary.* L'Estrange's *Aesop* appeared in 1692.
131. *The Famed Romance of Cassandra [Cassander] . . . elegantly rendered into English by "A Person of Honour."* Books I to III. (86.L.1.)  
In 1661 the entire work was translated by Sir Charles Cotterell, in 1676 there was a second edition, and in 1725 a third, while in 1703 appeared the translation "by several hands," from the French of G. de Costes, Seigneur de la Calprenède, [Paris c. 1642.] (12512.ee.7.)
132. *The Fifth Book of Amadis de Gaule.* Translated by Francis Kirkman.  
The first book was translated by Munday in 1598. The sixth book was added by J. Johnson in 1664. All were often reprinted. See List of Reprints.
133. *The Gallery of Heroic Women.* Translated by the Marquis of Winchester from the French of John Pourlett.  
Mentioned by Howell, Letter v, Bk. iv, and also by Walpole in the *Cat. of Royal and Noble Authors.*
134. *The Heroe of Lorenzo [i. e. Baltasar Gracian] or the Way to Eminence and Perfection.* Translated by Sir J. Skeffington from the Spanish. (8406.a.27.)

135. *Hind's Elder Brother; or the Master Theefe Discovered,*  
*i. e., Thomas Knowles.* (E.652.(9).)
136. *Hymen's Praeludia; or Love's Masterpiece;* being the  
 first part of that so much admired romance, intituled  
*Cléopâtre, [by G. de Costes, seigneur de la Cal-  
 prenède, Paris, 1647-58] now rendered into English  
 by R. Loveday. Whereunto is annexed a succinct  
 abridgement of what is extant in the succeeding story;  
 by the same hand.* (E. 1327.)  
 In 1654, part 2; in 1655, part 3; in 1658, part 7, by J.  
 Coles; in 1658, part 8, by J. Webb; in 1665-63-59,  
 the collected parts together with parts 9-10, 12 by  
 J. Davies. In 1674, the whole appeared in Loveday's  
 name and in 1687 was advertised for R. Loveday.
137. *Ibrahim, or the Illustrious Bassa, an excellent new romance  
 . . . Written in French by Monsieur de Scudéry [Paris,  
 1641-52] in four parts. Englished by H. Cogan.*  
 (837.I.15)  
 In 1674, there was another edition.
138. *Knights of the Blade. A notable and pleasant history of  
 the famous renowned Knights of the Blade, commonly  
 called Hectors or St. Nicholas Clerkes.* (Malone.)
139. *The Loves and Adventures of Clerio and Logia.* Trans-  
 lated into English by F[rancis] K[irkman] from the  
 French [*Amours de Lozie* by A. du Périer Paris 1599].  
 (E.1289.(2).)
140. *Nature's Paradox: or the Innocent Impostor. A pleasant  
 Polonian History, originally intituled Iphigenes.*  
*Compiled from the French Tongue* [i. e., from the work of  
 F. P. Camus] by Major Wright. (Col.843.c.153.T.5.)
141. *The Troublesome and Hard Adventures in Love.* Trans-  
 lated [from Cervantes] into English by R. C(odrington),  
 Gent. (E.647(1).)
142. *We have brought our hogs to a fair market; or strange newes  
 from New-gate; being a novel, pleasant and historical  
 narrative of J. H. [John Hind]. 4.* (E.793.(10).)  
 Revised Jan. 26 as "A Pill to Purge Melancholy"  
 and again in 1653 as *No Jest like a true Jest*, and  
 as *Wit for money.* (E.652.(2).)

1653

143. *Artamènes, or the Grand Cyrus, an Excellent New Romance.* Written by Monsieur Scudéri [Paris, 1649-53] . . . Translated by F. G. (86.k.15.)  
 It was advertised by Moseley in the T. C. for May, 1691,  
 as was also *Philoxixes and Policute translated from  
 Cyrus by an Honourable Personage.*
144. *Cloria and Narcissus. A Delightfull and New Romance,*  
*Imbellished with divers Politicall Notions, and Singu-*  
*lar Remarks of Moderne Transactions.* Written by an  
*Honourable Person.* Pt. II. appeared in 1654, Pt.  
 III. in 1655 and a new ed. under the title *The  
 Princess Cloria* in 1661. 823(62).
145. *The Works of Rabelais.* Bks. 1 and 2. Translated by  
 Thos. Urquhart.

1654

146. *Diane: an Excellent New Romance.* Translated from  
 the Italian of G. T. Loredano the younger by Sir  
 Aston Cokaine. (12477.bb.8.)
147. *Eliana.* By Samuel Pordage. (Dunlop.)
148. *The Extravagant Shepherd, or the History of the Shepherd  
 Lysis.* Translated by J. Davies from the French of  
 Charles Sorel.
149. *Heptameron, or the History of the Fortunate Lovers, now  
 made English by R. Codrington.* (E.1468.(2).)  
 As early as 1597 there was a translation of this work of  
 Margaret of Navarre.
150. *Nissena, an Excellent New Romance; written originally  
 by an Italian Carmen and now Englished by an  
 Honourable Anti-Socordist.* [E.1234(2).]
151. *Parthenissa, the famed Romance,* by Roger Boyle, Earl  
 of Orrery. The first four parts.  
 Another edition with two additional parts appeared in  
 1669.
152. *Pleasant Notes on Don Quixote.* By John Gayton.  
 (Lit. of R., p. 114.)
153. *Triana: or A threefold Romanza of Mariana, Paduana,  
 Sabina.* (G. 10366.)  
 There was a second edition, 1664. [By Joseph Hall?]

1655

154. *The Comical History of Francion*, translated from the French of Sorel. [Paris, 1622.] (Upham.)
155. *Coralbo: a New Romance in three books*. Written in Italian [by F. G. Biondi (1635)] and now faithfully rendered into English. (12470.k.8.)
156. *Wil Bagnal's Ghost: or the Merry Devill of Gadmunton in his Perambulation of the Prisons of London*. By Edmund Gayton. (E. 861. 4.)  
A series of satires in prose and verse.

1656

157. *Clelia. An Excellent New Romance*. Translated from the French of Mlle. de Scudéry [Paris, 1654-56]. Parts i to iv by J. Davies, Parts iv and v by G. Havers.  
The complete work was printed in 1661 in five volumes and there was another edition in 1678.
158. *The Commonwealth of Oceana*. By James Harrington. (521.k.10.)  
Other edition appeared in 1700 and 1731.
159. *The Illustrious Shepherdess*. Translated by "E. P." from the *Successos y Prodigios de Amor* of Perez de Montalvan. (E. 1588(1).)
160. *The Most Pleasant History of Bovinian. Being an addition to that most delightful history of Crispinus and Crispianus*. (12613.c.)  
The first chapter is numbered 16.
161. *Nature's Pictures drawn by Fancie's Pencil to the Life*. By Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle. (G. 11599.)  
It was reprinted in 1671.  
The volume contains "several feigned stories and natural descriptions as comical, tragical etc."
162. *A Relation of the Life of Christina, Queen of Sweden*. By J. Howell. (Upham.)
163. *The Trepan*. (Lit. of R., i. 148.)
164. *The Witty Rogue Arraigned, Condemned, and Executed*;

*or the History of . . . R. Hainman relating the several robberies, mad pranks and handsome jests by him performed. Together with his speech at the place of execution.* (E.882.(8).)

Reprinted as *The English Villain or Grand Thief*.

165. *Don Zara del Fogo; a Mock Romance.* Written originally in the British Tonge and made English by Basilius Musophilus, i. e., S. Holland. (12212 d.)  
This was reprinted in 1660 as *Romancio-Mastix; or a Romance of Romances* and in 1719 as *The Spaniard; or, Don Zara del Fogo &*

## 1657

166. *Guzman Hind and Hannan Outstrippt.* (Lit. of R., p. 15.)  
167. *The Life and Adventures of Buscon the witty Spaniard.* Put into English by a Person of Honour to which is added the *Provident Knight*.

Other editions appeared as follows:

- 1670, second edition.  
1683, abridged as *The famous history of Auristella.* Originally by Don Gonsales de Cespedes, Together with the pleasant story of Paul of Segovia by Don Francisco de Quevedo. Translated from the Spanish.  
1707, *The Comic Works of Don Francisco de Quevedo* Translated by John Stevens, reprinted in 1709 and 1742.  
168. *Novels of Scarron.* Translated by J. Davies.

John Davies translated the *Hypocrites*, *The Fruitless Precaution*, and the *Innocent Adultery of Scarron* in 1657, issuing them separately; the four *novelle* from the *Roman Comique* he issued in 1662, collecting them in 1667, and in 1670 bringing them out as the *Unexpected Choice*. *The Hypocrites* is from *Les Hypocrites* a redaction of *La Hya de Celistina* by Alonso Geronimo de Salas Baradillo. (Upham and D.N.B.)

## 1658

169. *The Devil of Mascon. Or a true Relation.* [By François Perrault], Oxford. (Gay.)

170. *The Grand Cabinet-Counsels Unlocked.* By Margaret of Valois, translated by Codrington. (Upham.)
171. *Panthalia; or, The Royal Romance.* A discourse stored with infinite variety in relation to state governement . . . Faithfully and ingeniously rendered. (*The opinion of a native Candiot, touching this royal romance. To the living memory of Catalion Pomerano, author of Panthalia, etc., [Signed Florencio Tribaccio]* (E. 1797 (1).)

1660

172. *Bentivolio and Urania.* In six books. By Nathaniel Ingelo, D.D. (823.In. 4.O.)  
This lengthy and uninteresting religious allegory was reprinted in 1660, 1673, and 1683, the last advertised as the "fourth edition."
173. *Olbia: the New Island lately discovered.* By a Christian Pilgrim (John Sadler). Printed for Samuel Hartlib. (521, g.2.)
174. *Le Prince d'Amour, or the Prince of Love.* Translated from the French of Martin Fumée by Sir Benjamin Ruddin, or Rudyerd. (Malone).
175. *Scipion.* Translated from the French of Pierre de Hortigues de Vaumorière. [Paris, 1656-62.]

1661

176. *Aretina; or the Serious Romance.* By Sir George Mackenzie. (C.57,aa.28.)
177. *Description of a new World, called the Blazing World.* By Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle. (Harvard, Eng. Lit., 15461.4.)
178. *Don Juan Lamberto; or a Comical History of the Late Times. The Second Part, by Montelion Knight of the Oracle.* (E.1048(8).)  
The two parts were reprinted in 1664.  
The first part was presumably written about 1658.  
The work is sometimes attributed to John Phillips, sometimes to Flatman.
179. *Love at First Sight, or the Gay in a Flutter and the Method of Curing Oneself of Love.* (Gay.)

180. *The Wandering Whore.* (Lit. of R., i. 207 n.)

1663

181. *The History of Henry IV. . . . King of France and Navarre . . . .* Translated by J. Dauncey Beaumont de Perefixe from the French of Jean Sombix [Leyden and The Hague, 1663] (284, a.21).

It was reprinted in 1672.

182. *The Lawyers Clarke Trappan'd.* (Lit. of R., i. 149.)

183. *A True Account of the Tryal of Mrs. Mary Carleton.*  
(Lit. of R., i. 149.)

1664

184. *Birinthia, a romance.* Written by J. B., Gent. (635, c.3.)

185. *CCXI Sociable Letters.* By Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle. (G. 115 98.)

186. *A Pilgimage into the Land of Promise.* By Henry Vane. (4403, g.)

187. *The Satyricon of T. Petronius Arbiter.*

Reprinted in 1677 and 1743.

Retranslated by T. Brown in 1708 and by John Addison in 1736.

1665

188. *A Choice Banquet of Witty Jestes, Rare Fancies, and Pleasant Novels.* By J. T. (Malone.)

189. *The English Rogue described in the life of Meriton Latroon*  
*Being a compleat history of the most eminent cheats.*  
By R. Head. (12613, cc.22.)

In 1671 was added *The English Rogue, Parts 3 and 4.* By Francis Kirkman.

Other editions are:

1679, *Life and Death of English R.*

1680, (Malone).

1689, *The E. R. or Witty Extravagant.*

1693, (advertised in the *T. C.* for November).

1701, (advertised in the *T. C.* for November).

1723, with pts. 5-7 "Seventh" ed.

190. *The Highwaywoman celebrating Marcy Clay.* (Lit. of R., i. 151.)

191. *Pandion and Amphigenia: or, the History of the Coy Lady of Thessaly.* By John Crowne. (12611.f.)  
 192. *La Picara, or the triumphs of Female Subtilty . . . Enriched with three pleasant novels. Rendered into English with some alterations and additions by John Davies of Kidwelly.*

Other editions are:

*The Life of Donna Rosina. A novel. Done into English by the ingenious Mr. E. W.* (A compression of the 1665 ed.)

*The Spanish Pole-cat; or the Adventures of Donna Rusina; in foure books. Begun to be translated by Sir Roger L'Estrange and finished by Mr. Ozell 1717.* Reprinted as *Spanish Amusements: or the Adventures of that Celebrated Courtezan, Señora Rusina.*

*Three Ingenious Spanish Novels: namely, I. The Loving Revenge: Or, Wit in a Woman. II. The Lucky Escape or, The Jilt Detected. III. The Witty Extravagant: Or, The Fortunate Lover. . . . Translated with Advantage By a Person of Quality.* The second ed., 1712. (Really Davies' translation but not the titles nor the order of his novels.)

In 1707 it was translated in *The Spanish Libertines or the Lives of Justina, the Country Jilt; Celistina the bawd of Madrid, and Estevanillo Gonzales, The most Arch and Witty of Scoundrels. To which is added a play, an Evenings Adventures. All four written by eminent Spanish authors and now first made English by Captain John Stevens.*

1667

193. *The Visions of Don Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas* [Madrid, 1627], made English by Roger L'Estrange.

Other editions appeared in:

1668, 1671, 1673, 1678 (sixth ed.), 1682 (with an apocryphal sec. pt.), 1688, 1689, 1696, 1702, 1708 (tenth ed.), 1715.

1702 burlesqued in verse, and in the *New Quevedo, or Visions of Charon's Passengers.*

1668

194. *The Cimmerian Matron, to which is added the Mysteries and Miracles of Love.* By P. M., Gent. (Fry, 184-6.) See no. 74, 1634.
195. *The Husband forced to be jealous, or the good fortune of those women that have jealous husbands.* Translated by N. H. from the French [Paris, 1663]. (1081, d.28.)
196. *The Loves of Charles, Duke of Mantua, and Margaret, Countess of Rovers.* Translated out of Italian. Advertised in November for Knight and Saunders and by the same publishers, in May, 1685, as *the Amours etc., translated out of the Italian.*
197. *A Relation of the Country of the Jansenia never till now described. Wherein is treated of the singularities found therein, the customs, manners, and religion of its inhabitants. With a map of the country.*  
"Composed in French by Louis Fontaine [Zacharie des Liseux, Capuchin] in 1660 and newly translated into English by P. B." (Begley.) Since this was written about the time of the Jansenist controversy it is probably a satire on Jansenism.

1669

198. *The History of Tarquin and Lucretia.* By Philander (Malone.)
199. *Psittacorum Regio. The Land of Parrots; or the Shetlands.* With a description of other strange adjacent countries in the Dominions of the Prince d'Amour, not hitherto found in any geographical map. By one of the most reputed wits. (Begley.)

1670

200. *The Fortunate Fool.* Written in Spanish by Don Alonso Geronimo de Sales Barbadillo of Madrid. Translated into English by Philip Ayres, Gent. (R. of R.)
201. *The Gentleman Apothecary; Being a Late and True Story turned out of the French [of J. de Villiers].* (1081, i.2.) A lively account of an indecorous episode.

202. *Les Heureuses Avantures d'Amour.* By Roger Bontemps. A translation (1081, 1.2.) Clever and rather licentious anecdotes characterized by remarkably witty repartee.
203. *The Memoirs of Monsieur Du Vall: containing the history of his life and death. Whereunto are annexed his last speech and epitaph.* By W. Pope. (1132, 9.62.) Reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*, III, 1808.
204. *The Unexpected Choice. A Novel . . . Rendered into English [from the Plus d'Effets que de Paroles of Scarron].* By J. Davies. Cf. no. 168, 1657. Included in Scarron's *Complete Works*, translated by T. Browne, in 1700 and reprinted in 1703 and 1727. (1074 K. 10.) See no. 427.

1671

205. *The Amorous Travellers, or Night Adventures. Written originally in Spanish by A Person of Honour. Translated into French by the exquisite pen of the Sieur Deganes and into English by J. B.* Advertised, Michaelmas term, by Ambrose Isted and J. Edwin.
206. *The Inconstant Lover: an excellent Romance. Translated out of French.* (012550, g.17.) This typical story of "gallant loves" is told by the principal hero Alcidor to the girl he finally marries. In many places it is satirical and markedly anti-Platonic.
207. *A Letter concerning the . . . country of Muley Arxid, King of Taleletta. The Relation of a Voyage into Mauritania.* (980, b.25 (1-2).) This same year appeared a variation.
208. *Loves Journal: a Romance made of the Court of Henry II. of France. Printed at Paris [1670] and now made English.* (125181, bbb.53.) This account of the "amours" of historical personages is in no way remarkable.
209. *Madame Wheedle or the Fashionable Miss Discover'd.* By R. Head. (Gay.)

210. *Philosophus Autodidactus, sive Epistola Abu Jaafar Ebn Tophail de Hai Ebn Yokdhan; in qua ostenditui quomodo ex inferiorum contemplation ad superiorum notitiam ratio humana ascendere possit. Ex Arabia in lingua Latinam versa ab Edward Pocockio.* Oxford.  
(Advocates Lib.)

In 1700 the Latin edition was emended.

In 1674 it was translated into English by G. Ashwell, as *An Account of the Oriental Philosophy, etc.*, and in 1708, it was newly translated into English by Simon Ockley as *The Improvement of Reason*.

211. *The Vision of Theodorus Verax.* By Bryce Blair. (12350, a.)

A curious little satire.

### 1672

212. *The Annals of Love, Containing Select Histories of Amours of Divers Princes. Pleasantly related.* (12414, eee.).

213. *The Drudge or the Jealous Extravagant. A plea for Gallantry.*

Advertised by Herringman in Easter Term.

214. *Flagellum, or the Life and Death, Birth and Burial of Oliver Cromwell, the late Usurper.*

Advertised by Randall Taylor, Michaelmas Term.

215. *History of the five Wise Philosophers, or the Wonderful Relation of the Life of Johosophat, the Hermit, son to Aveneroio, King of Baim in India. . . . Manner of conversion to the Christian Faith.*

This old story, presumably in a new guise was advertised by Page, Passenger and Harlock in Hillary term, and again in May, 1692.

216. *History of the French Rogue; being a pleasant History of his life and fortunes, adorned with variety of other adventures; with epigrams suitable to each stratagem.*

Advertised in Hillary term for Lowndes.

217. *Theopolis or the City of God; New Jerusalem in Opposition to the City of the Nations, Great Babylon.*

Advertised by Nathaniel Ponder, Hillary Term.

1673

218. *The Counterfeit Lady Unveiled. Being a full Account of the Birth and Life and most remarkable actions and untimely death of Mary Carleton, known by the name of the German Princess.*  
 Advertised in Hillary Term for Peter Parker and as *The Memories of Madame Charlton* for Brooks and Newman. (10825. aa.)
219. *The Floating Island: or, a new discovery relating the strange adventures on a late voyage from Lambethana to Villa Franca, alias Ramallia, to the eastward of Terra del Templo, by three ships viz. the Paynaught, the Excuse, the Least-in-Sight. Under the Conduct of Captain Robert Owe-much . . .*  
 Advertised in Trinity Term by Frank Careless for Randall Taylor, and Langbaine mentions a play of the same name. (Huth.)
220. *The History of the Fair One of Tunis, or the Generous Mistress. A new piece of Gallantry. Out of the French.*  
 Advertised in Michaelmas Term, by Henry Brome.
221. *The Life and Death of Edward the Black Prince.*  
 Advertised by Buck in Hillary Term.
222. *The Loves of Sundry Philosophers and Other Great Men. Translated out of French.*  
 Advertised in Hillary Term for Herringman and Starkey and in Trinity Term for the same publishers, *The Amours of Solon, Socrates, Julius Caesar, Cato of Utica, d'Andelot and Bussy d'Amboise.*
223. *The Mercury Gallant; containing many true and pleasant relations of what hath passed at Paris from Jan. 1, 1672, till the King's departure thence.*  
 Advertised in Hillary Term by B. Parker.
224. *The Unlucky Citizen Experimentally described in the various misfortunes of an unlucky Londoner . . . intermixed with several choice novels . . . illustrated with pictures.*  
 By F. K., i. e., Francis Kirkman. (G.17717.)  
 See *Lit. of. R.*, i. 211 +.

225. *The Witty Jests and Mad Pranks of John Frith . . . with Capt. James.* (Lit. of R., i. 141.)

1674

226. *An Account of Oriental Philosophy, i. e., Abu Jaafar Ebn Tophail.* See no. 219, 1671.

227. *Erasius or the Roman Prince. Being a full Account of that famous History of the Seven Wise Masters.* (Fry.) Francis Kirkman translated this from the French *Erasius* in 1674. It was reprinted in 1684. (Quaritch.)

Roland's translation of *The Seven Sages*, compiled in 1547, was reprinted in 1620.

228. *The Grand Pyrates; or the Life and Death of Captain George Cusack, Pyrate, and six Companions.* (Lit. of R., i. 141.)

Advertised for Jonathan Edwin, Easter, 1675.

229. *Jackson's Recantation, or the Life and Death of the Notorious Highwayman.*

Advertised in Easter Term by Newman.

230. *Legend of Captain Jones, Relating his Adventures at Sea, first landing and combat with a mighty bear.*

Advertised in Michaelmas Term.

231. *Sad and Lamentable News from Rumford being a true and dreadful relation of the sad and dreadful end of W. Stapeler.* (1132, b.78.)

232. *The Secret History of the Court of the Emperor Justinian Written by Procopius of Cæsario. Faithfully rendered into English.*

Advertised in Trinity Term by Barksdale.

1675

233. *Beraldus, Prince of Savoy. A novel in two Parts. Translated out of French by a Person of Quality.*

Advertised Easter Term for Grantham and J. Crump.

234. *The Bloody Innkeeper, or sad and barbarous News from Gloucester-shire; being a true relation how the bodies of seven men and women were found murthered in a garden belonging to a house in Putley near Gloucester. With the*

*strange . . . manner how the same was discovered, etc.*  
 (10803, aa. 16. (1).)

235. *The History of the Sevarites of Severambi.* By Captain Siden. Part I.

In 1678 appeared in Paris, a second part in French, and in 1679 a second part in English.

Crossley attributes the whole to one Vossius, a Dutchman resident in England. Begley agrees with Prosper Marchand, that it was written by Denis Vairasse D'allais En Longuedoc, primarily because the initials at the close of the introduction are D.V. D.E.L.; but these initials appear only in the French versions.

1676

236. *Don Carlos; an historical relation of the Life and Death . . . of that Spanish Prince son to Philip II.* from the French of Vischard de Saint Réal by H. J. [1672].<sup>1</sup>

In Michaelmas Term Herringman advertised a "second edition."

1729, reprinted in a *Select Collection of Novels*, vol. iii. (12602, aaa.)

It was upon this romance that Otway founded his play "Don Carlos." (1676.)

237. *English Adventures. By a Person of Honour* (Roger Boyle). (G. 17716.)

It is from this story that the plot of Otway's "Orphan" is said to be derived.

238. *History of the Grand Viziers Mahomet and Achmet Coprogli . . . with the most Secret Intrigues of the Seraglio.*

Advertised in Michaelmas Term by Browne.

239. *Scarron's Comical Romance; or, a facetious History of A Company of Strolling Players.* Translated by P. Porter. (12510, 1.2.)

<sup>1</sup>According to the *D.N.B.* the English version appeared in 1674 but I can find no authority for that date and F. W. C. Leider who has made a special study of this subject—"The Don Carlos Theme in Literature," in *J. of Eng. and Germ. Philology*, Oct., 1910, ix, 4. 483-499—gives the date of the translation as 1676.

It was re-translated in 1700 by T. Browne in *Scarron's Complete Works*. And other editions appeared in 1703 and 1727.

240. *The Sicilian Tyrant, or the Life of Agathocles; with some Reflections on our late Usurpers.*

Advertised in Easter Term by R. Royston.

241. *Tachmas, Prince of Persia. An Historical Novel; which happened under the Sophy Soleman who reigns this day. Translated by P. Porter.*

Advertised in Michaelmas Term.

Langbaine mentions it as a source for Southerne's *Loyal Brother*.

242. *A True Narrative of a Wonderful Accident which occurred upon the Execution of a Christian slave at Aleppo.* (816, m.23.22.)

243. *A True Tragical History of Two Illustrious Families under the names of Alcimus and Vannoza. Written in French by the learned J. P. Bishop of Belley. Done into English by a Person of Quality.*

Advertised in Michaelmas Term by Wm. Jacob.

244. *Zelinde, an Excellent New Romance, translated from the French of Monsieur de Scudéry.* By T. D. [Thos. Durfey or Duffet?]

Included in *Mod. Nov.*, vol. vii.

This is a burlesque rendering of Voiture's *Alcidalis*.

### 1677

245. *Almahide, or the Captive Queen.* Translated from the French version of M. de Scudéry [1660] by John Phillips. "An excellent new romance, never before in English, which work written in French by the accurate pen of M. de Scudéry. . . . Done into English by J. P., Gent." (Col. 843, Scu. 21.)

246. *Asteria and Tamberlaine, or the Distressed Lovers.* A Novel written in French and Englished by E.C.

Advertised Trinity Term by R. Sollers.

In 1681, Langbaine mentioned it as "done by Ch. Saunders." See no. 285, 1680.

47. *Capello and Bianca, a novel.* Written in French and now Englished by L. N., Gent.

Advertised Michaelmas Term by Enoch Wyer.

248. *The Cheating Gallant: or the false Count Brion.* A pleasant novel. Translated from the French [of Gabriel de Bremond, Paris, 1677] by a Person of Quality. Included in *Mod. Nov.*, vol. ii.
249. *The Confessions and Execution of the five prisoners suffering at Tyburn.* By T. Sadler. (6495,aa.2(3).) Revised as *Sadler's Memoirs*. (1132,a.29.)
250. *Evagoras. A romance.* By L. L., Gent. (Huth.) Advertised Hillary Term for Robt. Clavel and Th. More.
251. *The Happy Slave; a novel.* Translated from the French [of Gabriel de Bremond 1678] by a Person of Quality. (12512, aa.1.) Also in *Mod. Nov.*, vol. ix, and a new translation (12602, aaa.) in a *Sel. Col. Nov.*, vol. iv., 1728. In 1677, for the same publishers was advertised in Hillary Term the French version: "L'heureuse Esclave combining the loves of Laura and dédié à Ossory."
252. *The History of the Golden Eagle* by Philaquila (12613, c.11.) A fairy story in chap-book form.
253. *The Lives of Sundry notorious Villains. . . Together with a novel as it really happened at Roan in France.* Advertised in Michaelmas term for Sam. Crouch.
254. *A Narrative of the Adventures of L. Marott, pilot royll of the galleys of France; giving an account of his slavery under the Turks, his escapes out of it and other strange occurrences that ensued thereafter.* Tr. from the French copy. (1451a)
255. *Pharamond; or the History of France.* A Famed Romance in twelve parts. Written by the author of *Cassandre* and *Cléopâtre* (La Calprenède). Translated by J. Phillips.

256. *An Alarne for Sinners, or the story of Robert Foulkes late minister of Stanton Lucy.* (Lit of R., i. 155.)
257. *Almanzor and Almanzaide.* A novel written by Sir

*Philip Sidney (pseud)[?] and found since his death among his papers.*

Advertised Trinity Term by Magnes and Bentley.

This is probably the same as *Almanzaide. A Nouvelle*, (12513, a.35.) by Mlle. de la Roche Guilhem [Cologne, 1676], a typical Franco-Greek romance with Oriental setting.

258. *The Amorous Convert; being a true relation of what happened in Holland.*

Advertised Michaelmas Term for R. Tonson.

Is this Mrs. Behn's *Fair Jilt?* See no. 352, 1688.

259. *A Collection of Select Discourses out of the most eminent Wits of France and Italy. . . A Dialogue of Love, Wallensteins' conspiracy by Sarasin, Alcidalis, a Romance by Mr. Voiture. Freskie's Conspiracy by Signor Mascardi.* (836, c.1.)

260. *Diana, Dutchess of Mantua, or the Persecuted Lover. A Romance,* by R. Carleton. (12611,c.)

261. *The English Princess, or the Dutchess Queen: A relation of English and French Adventures.* A novel tr. from the French (12614, eee.14.)

The story of Mary Tudor, sister to Henry VIII and wife of Louis XII of France.

262. *Five Love-Letters from a Nun to a Cavalier. Done out of French into English.* By R. L'Estrange.

This was reprinted in 1693. Meanwhile, in 1683, appeared *Seven Portugese Letters; being a second part to the Five Love-Letters from a Nun to a Cavalier* which was also reprinted in 1693. In 1694 came *Five Love-Letters written by a Cavalier (the Chevalier Del) in answer to the five love-letters written to him by a Nun* which were reprinted with the original letters in 1716. There were six metrical versions of the *Letters*, in 1701, 1713, 1716, 1716 and 1718, and 1731.

263. *The Heroine Musqueteer; or the female Warrior. A true history very delightful and full of pleasant Adventures in the campaignes of 1676-77.* Translated out of French [of Préchac, Holland, 1677].

Advertised in Hillary Term for Magnes, Bentley, and Tonson.

It was reprinted in 1700. (12511, bb.8.(1).)

264. *The Mock-Clelia; being a comical History of French Gallantries and novels in imitation of Don Quixote.*  
Translated from the French of Perdou [Paris, 1670-80].

Advertised Hillary Term by J. Curtis.

265. *The Obliging Mistress; or The Fashionable gallant; a novel.*  
By a person of Quality. (635, a.23.(2).)  
Another ed., Mod. Nov., vii. (12410, c.)

266. *The Pilgrim's Progress from this world to that which is to come: delivered under the similitude of a dream.* By John Bunyan. (C.25, c.24.)

Other editions as follows:

1679, 1680, 1680, unauthorized second part; 1682, 1682, 1684, 1685, 1688, 1689, 1692, 1695, 27th 1728; 1737, -fol.; 1684, Part II; 1686, 1690, 1693, 1708, 1712, 1723, 1726, 1728, 1732, 1742-3; 1693, a spurious third part; 1698, *Pilgrim's Passage in Poesie*, by Ager Scholoe. 1700, *Pilgrim's Progress Done into Verse* by F. Hoffman.

267. *A Pleasant Novel; discovering the amours and intrigues of a Town Gallant, in the delectable Amours of Allophet and Astrea accompanied by Roderick in several adventures.*

Advertised Easter Term for W. Leach.

268. *Triumph of Love over Fortune. A Pleasant Novel.* Written in French by Gabriel de Bremond, and Englished by a Person of Quality. [Paris, 1677].

Included in Mod. Nov., vol. iv.

269. *The Viceroy of Catalonia . . . made English from the French of Gabriel de Bremond.* By James Morgan. (12512, aa.(2).)

270. *Zayde. A Spanish history, or romance.* Originally written in French. By Monsieur Segray (and the Countess de La Fayette [Paris, 1670]). Done into English by P. Porter. In two parts. (012547.i.17.)

In 1690 another ed. "corrected." (12511, aa.20.)

In 1720 included in *Sel. Col. Nov.*, vol. i.  
 In 1729 included in *Sel. Col. Nov.*, vol. i.

## 1679

271. *The Count d'Amboise, nouvelle galante.* (613, b.27.)  
 The first part of this is practically identical with *The Generous Lover*, 1689. *Mod. Nov.*, vol. ii.
272. *Diana, Duchess of Mantua.* By Rowland Carlton. (12611, c.)
273. *Fatal Prudence; or Democrates the Unfortunate Hero.*  
*A novel translated out of the French.* (635, d.3(2).)  
 Also in *Mod. Nov.*, vol. vi.  
 A short romance.
274. *The History of Appian of Alexandria in two parts.* The first Punick, Syrian, Mithridatic, Illyriann, Spanish, and Hannibalistic Wars. Part second, in five books the Civil Wars of Rome. Translated by J. Davies.<sup>1</sup> (586.i.17.)
275. *The Life of the renowned Peter d'Aubusson, grand master of Rhodes.* Translated from the French of D. Bonhours. A continuation of the *History of Rhodes under the government of Philip de Villiere.* (613, b. 27.)  
 Advertised in Michaelmas Term, 1678, as *The Life of the renowned Pierre d'Aubusson, Grand Master of Rhodes. . . . Sieges of Mahomet and Solyman.*
276. *Wife for a Husband and a Husband for a Wife; or, a Popish priest turned match-maker between a knight and a gentlewoman of pretended great fortune . . . with news from Prester-John's country.* (T.88(25).)

1680<sup>2</sup>

277. *Amours of Madame and the Count de Guiche.* Translated by a Person of Quality from the French. (1080, b.24.)

<sup>1</sup> Davies translated many quasi-fictitious pieces, as for example, *Olearius's Travels*, 1662, *Life and Philosophy of Epictetus*, 1670, *Henry the Great, cf France*, 1672 etc. See "John Davies of Kidwelly" by Sidney Lee in *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> Presumably to this year belongs Mrs. Behn's translation, *Lycidas*. See *Ante*, p. 77.

278. *The Count of Gabalis; or, The Extravagant Mysteries of the Cabalists exposed in five pleasant discourses on the secret sciences. Done into English* (from the French of Abbé de Montfaucon de Villars) by P. A[yles], Gent. with short animadversions. (19, e.19.)  
 Included in *Mod. Nov.*, vol. ii.  
 And in *Sel. Col. Nov.*, vol. v, 1722.
279. *The History of the most renowned Queen Elizabeth and her great favorite the Earl of Essex.* A romance in two parts. (G. 1515.) See 126, 1650.
280. *Hattige, or the Amours of the King of Tamaran* [that is of Charles II of England with the Dutchess of Cleveland]. A novel [by G. de Bremond, 1676]. Translated from the French by B. B. (12510, aaa.)  
 It was included in *Mod. Nov.*, vol. i, and in 1720, it was reprinted as *The Beautiful Turk*.
281. *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman presented to the World in a familiar Dialogue between Mr. Wiseman and Mr. Attentive.* (4415b.)  
 There were reprints in 1696, 1734, etc.
282. *The Novels of Elizabeth . . . containing the history of Anne Bullen.* Rendered into English by S. H[ickman] from the French [of the Countess d'Aulnoy, Paris, 1674]. (G. 1516.)  
 Short stories supposed to be told by the Duke of Northumberland at Elizabeth's command, in which the ruin of Anne is attributed to the machinations of a Mistress Blount.  
*In 1681, appeared Pt. II, containing the history of Bassa Solyman and the Princess Eronima. The last part. Englished by S. Hickman* [from the original French of the Countess d'Aulnoy, 1680]. (12604, bbb.14.)  
 Reprinted in 1700?, 1725, 1730 with a "second part," and in 1740?.
283. *The Pilgrim: a pleasant piece of gallantry: written in French* by G. de Bremond [1675]?. Translated by Peter Belon. (1208, e.I.)  
 Reprinted in 1700 with part II. (12511, bb.8(3).)

284. *The Princess of Montferrat. A Novel.* Translated from the French.

Contained in *Mod. Nov.*, vol. x.

285. *Royal Loves; or, the Unhappy Prince. A Novel.* Written in French by a Person of Quality. Now rendered into English. (12510, aaaa.8.)

A typical romance of crossed loves in the "Chinese box" method. The heroine is Asteria, daughter of Bajazet, and the hero Adanaxus, son to Tamberlaine, so that this may be a reprint or variation of "Asteria and Tamerlaine."

Cf. no. 246, 1677.

286. *The Vain Prodigal Life and Tragical Penitent Death of Th. Hellier the murderer executed in Virginia, in 1678.* (Huth.)

1681

287. *The Extravagant Poet. A Comical Novel.* Translated out of the French. In *Mod. Nov.*, vol. viii.

This is really a satirical "character."

288. *Gallant Memoirs: or the Adventures of a Person of Quality.* Translated from the French of G. Bremond [Paris, 1680], by P. Belon. *Mod. Nov.*, vol. ix.

289. *Homais, Queen of Tunis. A Novel.* Translated from the French of Bremond? [Amsterdam, 1681] by Sebastian Grenadine. *Mod. Nov.*, vol. i.

290. *The Life of Francis of Lorrain, Duke of Guise.* Translated from the French. (*Mod. Nov.*, vol. vi.)

291. *The Most Delectable History of Reynard the Fox. Newly corrected and purged from all grossness in Phrase and Matter.* (Malone.)

Pt. III, or *Reynardine*, a compilation by Brewster, was added in 1684. Pt. I, the original Flemish version of *Reinike de Vos*, appeared in 1479, was translated and printed by Caxton in 1481 and continually reprinted. In 1681 appeared the English additions, presumably by Edward Brewster. Reprinted in 1701.

292. *Strangements; news from the land of Chivalry.* (Sh.12612, i.)

A satire on Sir Roger L'Estrange.

293. *A True Relation of a Strange Apparition which appeared to Lady Grey commanding her to deliver a message to . . . the Duke of Monmouth.* (105, e.59(2).)  
*A Reply, The Lady Grey Vindicated* appeared very soon thereafter. (816, m.2(18).)  
 These are news-sheets.
294. *The Unequal Match; or, the life of Mary of Anjou . . . an historical Novel.* Translated from the French of Jean de La Chappelle by F. S., i. e., Ferrand Spence, 2 pts., and bound with *Mod. Nov.*, vol. xii. (12612, de.8.)

1682.

295. *Altizira, Princess of Fess; or the amours of the court of Morocco.* A novel. Translated from the French of G. de Bremond by P. Belon (12512, b.). Bound with *Mod. Nov.*, vol. vii.
296. *The Emperour and the Empire Betrayed.* *Mod. Nov.*, vol. xii. More of a political essay than a narrative.
297. *Meroveus, (son of Chilperic I of France) a Prince of the Blood-royal of France.* A novel. Translated from the French by F. S., i. e., Ferrand Spence. (12510, aa.7.) Bound with *Mod. Nov.*, vol. ii.
298. *A New Version of the Lady Gr—s (i. e., of Mary, Lady Grey of Werke] concerning her sister, the lady Berkeley.*  
*In a letter to Madame Fan—.* (1892, d.78.)  
 Cf. Post no. 394, 1693; no. 584, 1728, and no. 627, 1734.
299. *The Novels of Giovanni F(rancesco) Loredano (younger) . . . Translated into English.* [Nine novels.] (1073, a.40.)
300. *The Perplexed Prince*, by S. T. (292, a.34.)  
 A chapbook in which the old king and the peasant device is used to urge the cause of the Duke of Monmouth.  
 The presumption is that the work was written before 1682.

1683

301. *An Account of the Secret Services of M. de Vernay . . . to Count Teckley, as they passed by the way of Letters, etc.* Translated out of the French. (1058.a.18(2).)

- This may not be fiction, see under 1686 and 1693.
302. *The Countess of Salisbury. . . An Historical Novel.*  
 Translated by Ferrand Spence from the French of  
 d'Argenia. (837, a.3, and *Mod. Nov.*, vol. iii.)  
 This is an elaborated version of the story in Painter.
303. *The Crafty Lady; or, the Rival of Himself. A Gallant Intrigue.* Translated "out of French into English with an epistle dedicatory," signed F.C.Ph. (12511,  
 aaaa.42.)
304. *Don Sebastian, King of Portugal.* Translated by Ferrand Spence. (*Mod. Nov.*, vol. v.)  
 Cf. no. 4, 1601.
305. *The Dutch Rogue; or Guzman of Amsterdam, traced from the cradle to the gallows; being the life and fall of D. de Libechea, a decayed merchant.*  
 Advertised in Trinity Term by S. Smith.
306. *Eromena; or the Noble Stranger.* (12511, e.20.(2).)  
 A prose version of Chamberlayne's *Pharonnida*.
307. *The Essex Champion; or the Famous History of Sir Billy of Billercay and his squire Ricardo.* (*Lit. of R.*, i. 112.)
308. *The Fortunate, the Deceived, and the Unfortunate Lovers.*  
*Three excellent new novels, containing many delightful Histories. Printed in English and French, written by the Wits of both nations.*  
 Advertised in T. C. in May. Cf. no. 632, 1735.
309. *The History of the Bucaniers, translated from the Dutch by Alexander Oliver Exquemelin, De Americaensche Zee-Roovers.* Amsterdam, 1678. (*Lit. of R.*, i. 178.)
310. *The Neapolitan; or the defender of his mistress.* Done out of French [1682] by Mr. Ferrand Spence.  
 Advertised in June by Bentley and Magnes.
311. *The Perplex'd Princess, or the famous novel of Donna (Maria de) Zagas.* Written originally in Spanish.  
 Advertised in July by T. Malthus.
312. *The Travels of True Godliness from the beginning of the world to the present day; in an apt and pleasant allegory.*  
*By Benjamin Keach.* (4415, c.)  
 Reprinted in 1684 with "T. G.'s Voyage to Sea," and in 1700, '08, '18, '26, '33.

313. *The Unsatisfied Lovers.* A new English novel.  
Advertised in November for J. Partridge.

1684

314. *The Adventures of the Little Black Lady.* By Aphra Behn.  
No edition of this year is extant but Professor Siegel assigns this date.
315. *The Amours of Bonne Sforza, Queen of Polonia.* Translated from the French by P(eter) B(elon). In *Mod. Nov.*, vol. viii.
316. *The Amorous A.: or Love in a Nunnery.* A novel. Translated from the French by a woman of quality. Bound with *Mod. Nov.*, vol. v.
317. *The Chaste Seraglian; or Yolanda of Sicily.* Translated by "T. H., Gent" from the French of Préchac, 1678.  
Advertised in Michaelmas Term for T. Malthus.  
Included with a second part, printed in 1685, in *Mod. Nov.*, vol. vi.
318. *Dialogues of the Dead, etc.* *Mod. Nov.*, vol. xii.
319. *The Famous Romance of Tarsis and Zelie; digested into ten books.* Written originally by an acute pen of a person of honour. Done into English by Charles Williams, Gent.  
Advertised in November for N. Ponder.
320. *The Great Alcander.*  
Advertised in Michaelmas Term.  
Probably a reprint of the translation of *Les Amours de Henri IV ou du grand Alcandre*. See no. 181, 1661.
321. *The Life and Death of Mother Shipton strangely preserved among other writings belonging to an old monastery in Yorkshire and now published for the information of posterity.* By R. H., i. e., Richard Head. (8631, aaa. 12.)
322. *Love Victorious over Fortune.* Bound with *Mod. Nov.* vol. iv.
323. *The Progress of Sin, or the Travels of Ungodliness . . .*

*in an apt and pleasant allegory; together with the . . . manner of his apprehension . . . tryal . . . and execution.* By Thomas Keach, Author of *War with the Devil.* (4415, c.)

Reprinted in 1700 with additions, and in 1707, 1724,  
1727 etc.

324. *The Travels of Don Francesco de Quevedo Through Terra Australis Incognita; discovering the laws, customs, manners, and fashions of the South Indians.* A novel originally in Spanish.

A very poor Quixotic romance. (Begley.)

325. *The Triumph of Friendship and the Force of Love.* Two new novels from the French.

Advertised in November for J. Brown & J. Walthoe.

1685

326. *The Academy of Complements: or, a new way of wooing.* Wherein is a variety of love-letters, very fit to be read of all young men and maids that desire to learn the true way of complements. (12314, aa.17.)

It appeared again in slightly varying forms in 1705,  
1713, 1715.

327. *The Court of the King of Bantam.* By Aphra Behn.  
This date is only approximate.

328. *Don Heneriques de Castro, or the Conquest of the Indies.* A Spanish Novel. Translated by a Person of Honour.  
In Mod. Nov., vol. i.

329. *The Familiar Epistles of Col. Henry Martin found in his Misses Cabinet.* (Cat. no. 44 issued by Ellis and White.)

330. *The Gallants; or the Reciprocal Confidants.* A Novel.  
Translated by a Person of Quality. (12512, ccc.16.)

1686<sup>1</sup>

331. *Agratis, Queen of Sparta; or the Civil Wars of the Lacedemonians, in the Reigns of Kings Agis and Leonidase In two Parts. Translated out of the French [of Pierre d' Hortigues, Paris, 1685].*  
 Advertised in February by Bentley and Magnes.
332. *Amours of Count Teckeli, and the Lady Aurora Veronica de Serini. Containing his First Inducements to make War with the Emperor, and to Enter into the Turkish Army against the Christians. Translated out of French [1685].* (12511.de.24.)  
 See ante no. 301, 1683 and post no. 396, 1695.
333. *The Character of Love guided by Inclination, instanced in two true histories translated out of French.* In Mod. Nov., vol. iv.
334. *Delightful Novels exemplified in eight choice . . . Histories lately related by the most refined wits, with interludes. . . . In which are comprised the . . . adventures . . . of several English gentry. . . . Fourth Impression enl. with the addition of two new novels.* (1081, d.6.)
335. *A Dialogue between Francesco and Aurelia, two unfortunate orphans of the City of London.* In *Delightful Novels.*
336. *Love's Poesie: or, a collection of seven and twenty love-letters, both in verse and prose; that lately passed betwixt a gentleman and a very young lady in France.* (10910, aa.22.)  
 Cf. no. 393, 1693.
337. *Nugae Venales: or, a complaisant companion; being new jests . . . The third edition corrected, with many new additions.* By Richard Head. (12315.a.34.)
338. *The Secret History of the House of Medici.* Written originally by that famed historian, the Sieur Varillas. Made English by Ferrand Spence.

<sup>1</sup>I am told by Professor Trent, to whom the remaining footnotes to this appendix are due that this was advertised in L'Estrange's *Observator* for Jan. 16, 1685-6 and that the advertisement bears the date 1686. We read in the same journal under the date Oct. 13, 1686. "Advertisement La Montre: Or the Lovers Watch, By Mrs. A. Behn, Printed for W. Canning, at his Shop in Vine-Court, Middle-Temple, 1686."

Advertised in February by Bentley and Magnes.

1687

339. *Cynthia: with the tragical account of the unfortunate loves of Almerin and Desdemona. A novel . . . Done by an English Hand.* (Bodleian.)  
 An American reprint appeared in 1798.
340. *The Gallant Hermaphrodite. An amorous novel translated from the French of Sieur Chavigny.*  
 Advertised in November by Manship.
341. *The History of Nicerotis; a pleasant Novel.* (116, 11, a.7.)  
 Another edition, has the title "*The Fragments of a History, etc.*" (123330, aaa.6.(4).)  
 This is a very complicated and highly indecorous tale involving many earlier novelle.
342. *The History of the Nine Worthies of the World.* R. B(urton, pseud. Nathaniel Crouch). (10603, a.)  
 Reprinted in 1703.
343. *An Hue and Cry after Conscience.* (Brown's *Life of Bunyan.*)  
 This is a burlesque.
344. *Letters writ by a Turkish Spy, who lived five and forty years at Paris; giving an Account . . . of the most remarkable transactions of Europe . . . from 1637 to 1682.* Translated by W. Bradshaw and others from the French of Marana. See *ante*, p. 66.  
 26 editions by 1770.
345. *The Martyrdom of Theodora and Didymous. By a Person of Honour.* (Hon. Robert Boyle.) (861, g.4.)
346. *The New Disorders of Love. A gallant novel.* Written<sup>1</sup> by Richard Gibbs, of Norwich, Phi. Med.  
 Advertised in February by Bentley and Magnes.
347. *Ottoman Gallantries, or the Life of the Bassa of Buda. Done out of French.* In *Mod. Nov.*, vol. vi, as *Ibrahim, Bassa of Buda.* From the French of Zesien de Furstenair, 1645.

<sup>1</sup> The advertisement in the *Observator* Mar. 2, 1686-7 shows that this novel really belongs to 1687. It is advertised immediately below "Ottoman Gallantries, or the Life of the Bassa of Buda. Done out of French."

348. *The Spanish Decameron; or ten novels viz. The Rival Ladies, The Mistakes, The Generous Lover, The Libertine, The Virgin Captive, The Perfidious Mistress, The Metamorphosed Love, The Impostor Outwitted, the Amorous Miser, the Pretended Alchemist.* Made English by R. L. (Bodleian.)

Advertised in May by S. Neale.

1688

349. *The Art of Making Love in Mod. Nov.*, vol. vi.

350. *Clitie; a novel.* By Richard Blackburn, Gent.

Advertised in February by Bentley and Magnes.

351. *The Count de Soissons: a gallant novel* (by Isaac Claude). Translated out of French. In *Mod. Nov.*, vol. x.

In 1731 appeared a second edition. (1081, d.25.)

352. *The Disorders of Bassett, a novel.* Done out of French. (12510.)

353. *The Fair Jilt.* By Aphra Behn.

Again, this date is only approximate. See no. 258, 1678.

354. *The Fatal Beauty of Agnes de Castro. Taken out of the History of Portugal.* Translated by "P. B. Gent." from the French. *Mod. Nov.*, vol. v.

This version is practically the same as the one included among Mrs. Behn's novels and Prof. Siegel assigns her translation to this year.

355. *The History of the Loves of Lysander and Sabina, a novel.* (635, a.42.) The dedication is signed T. S.

356. *The History of the Royal Slave; or Oroonoko.* By Aphra Behn.

357. *The Life of St. Francis Xavier of the Society of Jesuits, Apostle to the Indians.* Translated by Mr. Dryden. [from the French of D. Bouhour]. (862, f.8.)

358. *The Princess of Clèves . . . written by the greatest wits of France* [Marie Madeleine Motier, Countess de la Fayette, 1678]. (12512.ee.6.)

In 1722 there was a different translation in *Sel. Col. Nov.*, vol. 2, and in 1729, a second edition of above.

359. *Simplicissimus.* Translated from the German of Grimmelhausen.

Advertised in February for Baldwin.

360. *Three novels in one, viz.: The Constant Lovers, Fruits of Jealousy, Wit in a Woman with Sempronia or the Unfortunate Mother.* By R. Blackbourn, Gent.  
Advertised in May for G. Grafton.

1689

361. *Amours of Messalina, late Queen of Albion. In four parts.* Translated from the French. (635, a.4.(1).)  
Reprinted with an additional fifth part in 1690 as *The Royal Wanton*.
362. *Amours of the Sultana of Barbary . . . (i. e., L. R. de Penancoët, de Kéroualle, Duchess of Portsmouth).*  
*A novel, in 2 pts.* (G. 13992.)  
Reprinted in 1690 as *The Secret History of the Dutchess, etc.* (836, b.6.)
363. *The Count of Amboise; or the Generous Lover.* A novel written originally in French by Madam . . . [Catherine Bernard]. Pt. I.  
Included in *Mod. Nov.*, vol. xi. Cf. no. 271, 1679.
364. *The Court Secret; a novel.* (Mod. Nov. vol. vi.)
365. *The Governour of Cyprus or the Loves of Virotto and Dorothaea.* A novel.  
Advertised in November for J. Knapton.
366. *The History of the Nun; or the Fair Vow Breaker.* By Aphra Behn.  
Reprinted in her collected works as *The Perjured Beauty*.
367. *Intrigues of Love; or Amours and Gallantries of the French court during the reign of the amorous and warlike Prince Henry IV.*  
Newly translated from the French by Sir Edwin Sadlier. See *ante*, no. 181, 1661, and no. 320, 1684.  
Advertised in May for B. Crayle.
368. *Love Letters between Polydorus and Messalina* (Gay).
369. *The Lucky Mistake.* By Mrs. Behn. In *Mod. Nov.*, vol. i.
370. *Peppa: or, the Reward of Constant Love.* A novel. Done out of French. With several songs set to music for two voices. By a young gentlewoman. A: C. [Lady Cokaine?]. (Bodleian).

A typical romance of the Franco-Greek variety.

371. *The Rival Princesses or the Colchian Court. A novel.*  
In Mod. Nov., vol. x.  
372. *The Wanton Fryer, or the Irish amour. A new novel.*  
Advertised in May for Bentley and Magnes.

1690

373. *Amours of Philaris and Olinda.* Dedication signed S.L.  
2 pts. (80828, bb.16).  
Advertised in May, but the B. M. edition is of 1730,  
374. *The Cabinet Open'd; or the Secret History of the Amours  
of Madam de Maintenon with the French King.* Mod.  
Nov. vol. xi.  
375. *Gallantry Unmasked; or women in their proper colours.  
A Novel.*  
Advertised in November by Bentley.  
376. *The Great Scanderbeg, a novel [by M. Chevreau] done out  
of French.* Mod. Nov., vol. xi.  
This tale is probably founded on a Latin biography.  
*Scanderbeg. Barletius (Marinus) de Vita, Moribus  
ac Rebus praecipue adversus Turcas gestis Georgii  
Castrioti, clarissimi Epirotarum principis . . . libri  
tredecim, 1537.* (Quaritch.)  
377. *The History of the Maréchalless de la Ferté Senneterre.*  
In Mod. Nov., vol. viii.  
378. *The Irish Rogue; or the comical history of the Life and  
actions of T(eague) O'D(ivelly) from his birth to this  
present year, 1690.* (With a preface by J. S..  
(1079.b.5)  
379. *The Revived Fugitive; a gallant Historical Novel.* In  
Mod. Nov., vol. vii.<sup>1</sup>

1691

380. *Casimer, King of Poland.* Translated by Ferrand

<sup>1</sup>In 1690 appeared the first edition of B. Star's translation of "The History of Madamoiselle de St. Phale," a popular account of the conversion to protestantism of a French lady and her daughter and of the defeat of a wily Jesuit. Still more suggestive of fiction is "The French Convert" of A. D'Auborn, of uncertain date, but about this period. Both these books have been erroneously attributed to Defoe. An edition of the second was printed at Haverhill, Mass., in 1794.

Spence from the French. Included in *Mod. Nov.*, vol. ii.

381. *The French King proved a Bastard: or, the Amours of Anne (Queen to Louis XIII) with the Chevalier de Roan.*

A second edition was issued in 1692. (901, a.21.)

382. *The Secret History of the Duke of Alençon and Queen Elizabeth.* Included in *Mod. Nov.*, vol. i.

## 1692

383. *The Female Gallant; or the Wife the cuckold. A novel.*  
Advertised in May by S. Briscoe.

384. *The Illustrious Persian Maid: or Amours of a German Prince.*

Advertised in *Mod. Nov.* for Gil. Cowerly.

385. *Incognita: or Love and Duty Reconcil'd.* By Cleophil,  
i. e., William Congreve. (Bodleian.)

386. *Memoirs of the Court of Spain. In two Parts.*  
Written by an Ingenious French Lady. [Countess d'Aulnoy.] Translated by T. Brown.

387. *Modern Novels* in 12 vol.

See *Collections*.

388. *Murder Will out, an Impartial Narrative of the . . . Life of Capt. Harrison who was . . . convicted . . . for the Murder of Doctor Clench.* (10826, i.15.)

389. *A New Discourse of Terra Incognita Australis, or the Southern World.* By Jacques Sadeur, a Frenchman "who being wrecked lived thirty-five years in that country."

Advertised by Dunton.

390. *The Notorious Impostor.* Issued in two parts. Reprinted in 1694. (*Lit. of R.*, p. 152.)

It celebrates after the manner of the Spanish rogue romances the villainies of William Morrell.

391. *The Rival Mother; a late true history digested into a Novel.* (1076.i.2(33).)

392. *Taxila or Love preferred above Duty. A Novel.* By W. D., Gent. (12614.ccc.7.)

1693

393. *Letters of Love and Gallantry and several other subjects. With the Adventures of a Young Lady, written by Herself in several Letters to a Gentleman in the Country. All written by Ladies. Translated from the French.*  
 Volume II appeared in 1694. See no. 336, 1686.
394. *Love Letters between a Nobleman and his Sister [adopted sister] viz., F.—rd Lord G—y of Werke and the Lady Henrietta Berkeley, under the Borrow'd Names of Philander and Silvia.*  
 The compilers of the Bodleian Catalogue attribute this series of fifty-two letters to Mrs. Behn. Cf. no. 298, 1682; no. 584, 1728, and no. 627, 1734.
395. *Memoirs of the Life of Emeric, Count of Teckely, from the French of Lecluc.* (G. 14952.)  
 See *Ante*, no. 301, 1683, and no. 332, 1686.
396. *The Players Tragedy; or Fatal Love. A New Novel.* (Bodleian.)
397. *The Travels of Love and Jealousy. A Novel. By H. C., Gent.*  
 Advertised by Bentley in November.
398. *Virtue Rewarded; or the Irish Princess. A New Novel. By an English Hand.* (Bodleian.)  
 Also included in *Mod. Nov.*, vol. xii.

1694

399. *Adventures of the Helvetian Hero: or Amours of Armadorous and Vincentia, Countess of Albania. A Novel.*  
 Signed A. (12612, de.)
400. *Five Love-Letters written by a Cavalier in answer to the five love-letters written to him by a nun M(arianna) A(lcoforado).* Translated from the Portuguese [French]. (1085, b.20(2).)
401. *The Unfortunate Court Favorites of England;—Galveston, Spencer, Roger Mortimer, Stafford, Jane Shore, Woolsey, Cromwell, Essex, Bucks, Strafford—with their amours.*  
 Advertised in November by N. Crouch.
402. *The Unhappy Lovers: or, the Timorous Fair One.* A

*novel. Being the loves of Alexander and Mellecinda.*  
*In a Letter.* (12611, d. 6.)

1696

403. *Histories and Novels. By Mrs. Aphra Behn, together with her Life and Memoirs.* (Bodleian).

Another edition with an account of Mrs. Behn "by one of the Fair Sex" was printed in 1705. There were other editions in 1718 and 1722, the latter advertised as "the seventh."

404. *Letters, to which is added a letter from a supposed nun in Portugal to a gentleman in France, in imitation of the Nun's five letters in print, by Col. Pack.* By Mrs. de la Rivière Manley. (1086, b.7.)

Republished in 1725 as the *Stage-Coach Journey*.

405. *The Revengeful Mistress; being an amorous adventure of an Englishman in Spain.* (12612, e.)

1697

406. *The History of the Amours of the Marshal de Boufflers, or a true Account of his Amours and Gallant Adventures.* (Gay.)

1698

407. *Abra-mulie, or the Secret History of the Dethronement of Mahomet the fourth.* Written in French by Mr. Le Noble de Tennelière. Made English by J. P.

Advertised for Leigh in June.

1699<sup>1</sup>

408. *The Adventures of Covent Garden in Imitation of Scarron's City Romance.*

In spite of its announced indebtedness to Scarron it is more closely modelled upon Furetière's *Roman Bourgeois*.

409. *The Adventures of Telemachus*, translated by I. Littleton from the French of the Abbé Fenélon.

Reprinted in 1728 and 1742.

<sup>1</sup> *The History of Cang-Hy, the present Emperor of China*, translated from the French of J. Bouvet (794.d.6(1.2)), belongs to the year 1699. This is not fiction.

410. *A Collection of Pleasant Novels, comprising the Secret History of Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Essex, the Happy Slave, the Double Cuckold; v. ii, The Heroine Musqueteer . . . Incognita . . . and The Pilgrim.*

Advertised for R. Wellington in June and November.

411. *The Complete Mendicant; or Unhappy Beggar.* (1414, c.27.)

Often given to Defoe but probably not by him.

412. *The Fables of Pilpay . . . containing many rules for the Conduct of Human Life.* Translated by J. Harris from the French version of G. Gaulmin and David Said. (243, e.8.)

These fables had already been translated in 1570 by Thomas North, as the *Morall Philosophie of Doni etc.*

In 1711, this version was reissued with the *Fables of Aesop* as *Aesop Naturalized*.

#### 1700

413. *Amours of Edward IV. An Historical Novel.* By [or rather incorrectly attributed to] the Author of the *Turkish Spy.* (12613, 2.)

414. *Amusements Serious and Comical Calculated for the Meridian of London.*

Reprinted in the *Works of Thomas Brown*, ed. J. Drake, 1707–1708, and reissued under slightly varying titles in 1711 and 1715.

415. *The Diversions of Mars and Venus, consisting of several Love Stories as told by little Cupid to divert Venus his Mother, being chiefly real Intrigues with some modern Amours of Tunbridge Wells.* (Gay.)

416. *The English Nun; a comical description of a Nunnery.* By an English Lady.

Advertised in the term Catalogues of May.

417. *The French Spy: or the memoirs of Jean Baptiste de La Fontaine. . . . Translated from the French original.* (10661, bb.33.)

418. *A Frolic to Horn Fair.* By E. Ward. (T.927, (10).)

419. *A Full and True Account of the behaviours, confessions*

*last dying speeches of the condemned criminals that were executed at Tyburn.* (515, I.2.(185).)

420. *The Heroine Musqueteer; or, the female warrior, a true history . . . of pleasant adventures in the campaigns of 1676 and 1677.* (12511, bb.8(1).)

Translated from the French of Préchac, Paris, 1677-78.  
Cf. no. 410, 1699.

421. *The Pilgrim's Progress from Quakerism to Christianity.*  
Advertised in May by Francis Bugg.

422. *The Reformer: exposing the vices of the age in several characters.* By E. Ward. (7222, 58.)

## 1701

423. *The Secret History of Miss Betty Ireland, her amorous life, adventures, and crimes.* (Gay.)

424. *The Tyburn Calendar.* (Lit. of R., p. 172.)

425. *The Unfortunate Lovers: the History of Argalus and Parthenia.* Quarles's verse version turned into prose.  
(Quaritch.)

426. *The Whole Comical Works of Monsr. Scarron.* Translated by Thos. Brown.

Reprinted in 1703 and 1727.

## 1703

427. *A Banquet for Gentlemen and Ladies.*

See Section of Collections.

428. *The London Spy Compleat.* By Edward Ward. (12356, c.14.)

Reprinted in 1704-06-08.

429. *The Smoking Age; or the Life and Death of Tobacco.*  
By Richard Brathwaite. (1079, i.26.(10).)

A coarse satire.

## 1704

430. *The Comical History of the Life and Death of Mumper, Generalissimo of King Charles II's Dogs. By Heliotropolis, secretary to the Emperor of the Moon.*

Advertised in Defoe's *Review* and in the term Catalogues for June, but it is doubtful, according to Professor Trent, whether Defoe wrote it although it has been attributed to him.

431. *Dialogues de M. le Baron de La Hontan: et d'un Sauvage.*  
(1052, d.8.)  
Reprinted in 1728 as *Suite du Voyage de L'Amerique ou Dialogues, etc.*
432. *A Full and True Account of the discovering . . . and taking of S. Griffith a notorious witch, etc.* (sh 512, 1.2. (199.)
433. *An Historical Account of the Sufferings and Death of the Faithful. . . by Isaac Le Fèvre in the French King's Galleys etc.*  
Advertised in May for T. Bennet.

## 1705

434. *Cassandra and Others of the Sex.*  
Advertised in May in the *T. C.* See Upham p. 397 n.
435. *The Consolidator, or memoirs of sundry transactions from the world in the moon. . . By the author of the True-born Englishman.* D. Defoe. (G. 13507.)
436. *The Secret History of Queen Zarah and the Zarazians.*  
Probably by Mrs. Manley.  
There were other editions in 1709 and 1711 and a French translation in 1708.

## 1706

437. *A Continuation of the Comical History of the most Ingenuous Knight, Don Quixote de la Mancha. By the Licentiate Alonzo Fernandes de Avellaneda. Being a third volume never before printed in English.*  
Translated by Capt. John Stevens. (Bodleian.)
438. *Female Falsehood; being the amorous memoirs of a late French nobleman. Written by himself . . . and digested by [Marguettel de Saint-Denis, seigneur de] St. Evremont.* Second edition with part II. (12510, d.7.)
439. *Miracles of the Age . . . being a full and true relation, . . . of a young woman that lived ten weeks and two days in a trance, without eating.* Shrewsbury, 1706? (697, b.46.)
440. *Secret Memoirs of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.* Written

*during his life and now published from an old Manuscript never before printed.* 4 vols. (Col. 820. 8.c.68.) This lively, but not very edifying, account of the Earl is supposed to be told by an intimate friend to some younger men who either did not know Leicester or were only slightly acquainted with him.

441. *A True Account of the Apparition of Mrs. Veal that appeared the next day after her Death to . . . Mrs. Bargrave etc.*  
By Daniel Defoe.

1707

442. *The Comical Bargain or Trick upon Trick; being a pleasant and true relation of one Thomas Brocks, a baker's apprentice near Milk Street, that went for a Hamburg merchant, and courted an eminent doctor's daughter near King Street in Bloomsbury.* (11631, aaa.)  
A broad-side.

443. *The Diverting Works of (Marie Catharine LaMothe) Countess d'Aulnoy.*

Memoirs of her own life. (12236, bb.)

All her Spanish novels and histories, i. e., Marquis of Lemos and Dona Eleonora of Montelon, Dona Eugena of St. Angelo, Marquis of Leyva, Dona Camella D'Arellano, Hortense of Ventmiglia, Marquis of Mansera and Dona Teresa of Castro.

Her Letters.

Tales of the Fairies.

444. *The Novels of Don Quevedo Villegas, Knight of the Order of St. James, faithfully Englished; whereunto is added the "Marriage of Belphegor, an Italian novel, translated from Machiavel.* (R. of R.) Cf. 1665 under *La Picara.*

Advertised in February by John Startsey.

Includes, The Spanish Libertines, Lives of Justina, Celestina, and Estevanillo Gonzalez.

445. *The Pleasant History of Taffy's Progress to London.*

Advertised in March for F. Thorn.

This is probably similar to the doggerel satire the *Welch Traveller* by Humphrey Crouch, 1657. See *Lit. of R.*, I. 209.

1708

446. *An Account of Some Remarkable Passages in the life of a Private Gentleman, etc.* (859, h.26.)  
 A morbid account of religious experiences erroneously assigned to Defoe.  
 Reprinted in 1711.
447. *Almira: or, the History of a French Lady of Distinction Interspersed with the Histories of the Marquis de Montalvan and Isabella: Lindamira, or the Belle Espagnole.* (Bodleian.)
448. *The French King's Wedding; or, the royal frolick . . . surprising marriage ceremonies of Madam de Maintenon with Lewis XIV?* (1076, h.22(2).)
449. *Hypolitus, Earl of Douglas.* Containing some memoirs of the Court of Scotland, with the Secret History of Mack-beth King of Scotland. [Translated from the French of M. C. de La Mothe, Countess d'Aulnoy] To which is added the Amours of Count Schlick . . . and a young lady of Quality. [A translation of Eurialus and Lucretia by Aeneas Sylvius etc.] 3 pts. (12510, d.9.)
450. *Turkish Tales; consisting of several extraordinary Adventures . . . now done into English.*  
 Another version, *Persian and Turkish Tales Compleat* in 1714. (12513.b)

1709

451. *The Constant but Unhappy Lovers.* (sh.1076, I.22(33).)  
 This is bound in a volume with other pamphlets, the general title page of which advertises *Robinson Crusoe* and must obviously, therefore, be as late as 1719. Still the individual pamphlets may be older and this may well date from 1709.  
 It is a very brief tale of a girl who died of grief when she discovered that she had eaten her lover's heart.
452. *The Distressed Child in the Wood; or the Cruel Uncle:* being a true relation of one Esq. Solmes . . . who dying left an only daughter to the care of his own brother etc. (1076, I.22(39).)

453. *The Island of Content; or, a new paradise discover'd in a letter from Dr. Merriman of the same country to Dr. Dullman of Great Britain. By the authors of the "Pleasures of a single life."* (12316, cc.30(1).)
454. *The King of Pirates, being an account of the famous Captain Avery, the Mock King of Madagascar. . . . Written by a Person who made his Escape from thence.* (1204. c.5.)
455. *Love in a Passion without Discretion, or, the young merchant's sudden bargain and the cook-maid's happy fortune.* (1076, 1.22(43).)
456. *The Love Lottery, or, a Woman the prize. Being a pleasant new invention.* The second edition with large additions. (1076. 1.22(33).)
457. *The Mall: or, the reigning beauties. Containing the . . . intrigues of Miss Cloudy and her gouvernante Madam A.* (11631, aaa.)
458. *Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of Signor Rozelli . . . done into English [by D. Defoe?]* from the second edition of the French of the Abbé Olivier [Paris, 1708]. 2 vols. (G.13510, II.)  
1713 appeared a second edition, corrected. 2 vols. with an appendix. (G.13512.)  
There were two continuations in French, one in 1719 and one in 1722, both of which were translated. There was, in addition, a third continuation in English, for which no French original has been found, which is sometimes attributed to Defoe.
459. *The Secret Memoirs of . . . Several Persons of Quality . . . from the New Atalantis.* By Mrs. Manley. (1081,m.2.)  
Reprints in 1720, 1730, etc.

## 1710

460. *A Brief and Merry History of Great Britain, containing an Account of the religion, customs . . . of the people, written originally in Arabick by Ali Mohammed Hadji . . . Faithfully rendered into English by A. Hillier.*  
There was another edition in 1730. (Conant.)

461. *A Dialogue between Dick Brazenface the Card-maker and Tim Meanwell the Clothier: being a dispute between the card-maker and the clothier fairly stated.* By D. Brazenface (pseud.). (816. m.14.(59).)
462. *Look ere you Leap: or a History of the Lives and Intrigues of lewd Women . . . To which is added the character of a good woman.* Tenth edition. (12331, a.22.)
463. *Memoirs of Europe towards the Close of the Eighth Century.* Written by Eginhardus, Secretary and Favorite to Charlemagne. By Mrs. Manley. (636.d.11,12.)

## 1711

464. *An Account of the Life and Death, Parentage and Conversation of Mr. J.A. [John Addison], a most notorious highwayman.* (1076, I.26(6).)
465. *Atalantis Major. Printed in Orecky, the Chief City of the Northern Part of Atalantis Major.* By D. Defoe? A political prose satire.
466. *Court Intrigues; or a collection of original Letters from the Island of New Atalantis.* By the author of these Memoirs (Mrs. Manley). (636. d.10.)
467. *The Description of Epson, with the humors and politicks of the place. In a letter to Eudoxia.* (By Britto Batavus [J. Toland]). (1302, f.)
468. *The London-Bawd with her Character and Life, discovering the various and subtle intrigues of Lewd Women.* Fourth edition. (Gay.)
469. *The Whole Life, character and conversation of that foolish creature called Granny.* (1076, I.26.(8).)  
A coarse journalistic narrative.

## 1712

470. *Arabian Nights Entertainment; consisting of One Thousand and One Stories told by the Sultaness of the Indies to divert the Sultan from the Execution of a Bloody Vow.* Translated from the French from the Arabian MSS. by M. Galland . . . and now done into English from the Edition in French.  
Advertised in 1708, but the oldest known edition is the second, of 1712; fourth edition 1713.

471. *A Companion for the Ladies Closets: or, the life and death of the most excellent Lady.* (4202.aaa.1.)  
 The B. M. Catalogue has the note "By A. B. (i. e., Aphra Behn?")  
 472. *The Highland Visions; or, the Scots new Prophecy, etc.*  
 London? (114, g.36).<sup>1</sup>

1713

473. *The Lover's Secretary; or, Adventures of Lindamira in twenty-four letters.*  
 Advertised in May in the *T. C.* but no edition earlier than the 2d, 1715 "Revised by T. Brown," is known. (12611.df.25(1).) There was a third edition in 1734.

1714<sup>2</sup>

474. *The Adventures of Rivella; or the history of the Author of the Atalantis . . . Delivered in a conversation to the young Chevalier D'Aumont . . . by Sir Charles Lovemore. Done into English from the Fr.* (1419, f.23.)  
 The fourth edition appeared in 1724 as *Mrs. Manley's History of Her Life and Times*.  
 475. *Complete History of the Lives and Robberies of the most notorious Highwaymen.* By Alexander Smith. (*Lit. of R.*, i. 209.)  
 Fifth edition in 1719 and a new volume in 1720.  
 476. *Love Letters from Henry VIII to Anne Buleyn, with two from Anne Buleyn to Cardinal Wolsey, and her last to Henry VIII.* (Cat. Old Eng. Lit., Russel Smith, no. 72.)  
 477. *The Memoirs of Gamesters.* By Theophilus Lucas. (*Lit. of R.*, i. 171.)

<sup>1</sup> The first tract in this series appeared in April, 1711 under the title "The British Visions: or, Isaac Bickerstaff's Twelve Prophecies for the Year 1711." The item given above was the second and appeared in March, 1712. In February, 1713 the series was continued with "The Second-Sighted Highlander, etc.," and a skit under this same title appeared in 1715, but no tract for 1714 has yet been found. There is ample evidence, both external and internal, to show that Defoe was responsible for the entire series.

<sup>2</sup> In its number for July 14, 1714 the *British Mercury* (a fire insurance organ) began printing as a serial a story entitled *The Rover*. This disposes of the notion that *Robinson Crusoe* was the first English serial.

478. *The Persian and Turkish Tales, compleat, tr. formerly from those languages into French [or rather compiled] by M. Petis de la Croix (assisted by A. R. Le Sage) and now translated into English by Dr. King and several other hands.* (12513, b.37.)

Reprinted in 1722 as *The Thousand and One Days* by Mr. Phillips.

## 1715

479. *Amours of Bosvil and Galesia. A novel.* By Mrs. Barker. Advertised for Currill in *Exilius* 2d. edition.  
Reprinted in *Entertaining Novels of Mrs. B.*, 1736.
480. *The Dean of Killarine.* Translated from the French of Prévost. (Gay.)  
Reprinted, 1780.
481. *Exilius: or the Banished Roman. A new romance . . . written after the manner of Telemachus.* By Mrs. Jane Barker of Wilsthorpe. (012611, h.25.)  
In 1736, 2d ed. in *Entertaining Novels of Mrs. B* (625, c. 45), and in 1743 another ed. of the latter. (12611, c.)
482. *The Family Instructor in Three Parts.* I, Relating to Fathers and Children. II, to Masters and Servants. III, To Husbands and Wives. By Way of a Dialogue. By Daniel Defoe.  
Reprinted in 1715, 1720 the eighth edition, 1766 the sixteenth.  
In 1718, Defoe published the second volume of the work and in 1727 he issued *The New Family Instructor*.
483. *History of the Wars of his Present Majesty Charles XII. . . By a Scots Gentleman in the Swedish Service.*  
By D. Defoe. A continuation appeared in 1720.
484. *Secret History of the Loves of the most Celebrated Beauties, Ladies of Quality and Jilts from fair Rosamond down to the present day.* By Alexander Smith. (*Lit. of R.*, i. 176.)

## 1716

485. *The Generous Rivals; or, Love Triumphant. A novel.*  
486. *Secret Memoirs of Bar-le-duc [Court of Prince James*

Edward Stuart) from the death of Queen Anne].  
Dublin, 1716. (12314, aaa.1.)

## 1717

487. *A Short Narrative of the Life and Death of John Rheinholdt, Count Patkul, a Nobleman of Livonia, etc. Faithfully translated . . . by L. M.* The second edition.

Advertised in April for T. Goodwin.<sup>1</sup>

1718<sup>2</sup>

488. *The Christian Pilgrimage . . . of Salignac de la Mothe Fenélon.* Translated by Mrs. Jane Barker.

489. *The Double Captive; or Chains upon chains, containing the amorous poems and letters of a young gentleman, one of the Preston prisoners in Newgate. To which is added the execution dream, with a preface to the ladies and an introductory novel.* (1078, 1.31.)

## 1719

490. *The Dumb Philosopher; or Great Britain's Wonder.* By D. Defoe.

491. *Familiar Letters of Love and Gallantry for several occasions by the wits of the last and the present age, from the originals, together with T. Brown's remains, being Letters and Dialogues not printed in his works.* 2 vols. (99, a.20.)

In 1724 appeared the sixth edition, corrected.

492. *The Female Deserters. A Novel.* By the Author of the *Lover's Week* [that is F. Molière]. (12330, cc.11.) *The Lover's Week, Hanover Tales, Milesian Tales, The Spanish Polecat* (cf. ante, 1665 under *La Picara*), are all advertised by J. Roberts in the *Female Deserters*.

493. *The History of the Siege of Toulon by Donneau de Visé.* Done into English by Mr. Boyer. (614, h.2.)

494. *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, mariner.* By D. Defoe.

<sup>1</sup>This tract was given by Lee to Defoe, but it is really by Lord Molesworth.

<sup>2</sup>To this year (August) belongs "A Continuation of Letters written by a Turkish Spy at Paris, etc.," assigned with much plausibility by James Crossley to Defoe.

1719, the two parts; 1719 3d ed. of pt. 1; 1719, 4th ed., with map; 1719, *Farther Adventures*; 1722, fourth edition; 1726, fifth edition; 1726, pts 1 and 2; 1719, abridged; 1726, abridged; 1730? abridged.

495. *Some Account of the Life, and Most Remarkable Actions of George Henry, Baron de Goertz, Privy-Counsellor and Chief Minister of State, to the late King of Sweden.* This biographical tract, which seems to be clearly by Defoe, appeared in July, 1719.

## 1720

496. *The Chronicle of Tyburn.* (Lit. of R., i. 178.)
497. *The History of the Life and Adventures of Mr. Duncan Campbell.* By D. Defoe. (G. 13537.)  
In the same year was issued a corrected edition, and in 1728 the third edition appeared as *The Supernatural Philosopher* with the name of William Bond as the author. Mrs. Haywood and not Defoe was probably the author of some of the later Campbell pamphlets, but the latter probably wrote *The Friendly Daemon* of 1726 and he may have had a hand in the *Secret Memoirs* of Campbell of 1732.
498. *The King of Pirates, being an account of the enterprises of Captain Avery.* In two letters from himself. By D. Defoe. Really published at the end of 1719, with a second edition of 1720. (Lee.) (518, f.29.)
499. *The Life, Adventures, and Pyracies of the famous Captain Singleton, containing an account of his being set ashore in the island of Madagascar as also of his many adventures and pyracies with the famous Captain Avery and others.* By D. Defoe. (838. c.8.)  
In 1737, the second edition.
500. *Love's Academy.* Containing many pleasant and delightful novels. (12614, ee.16.)  
“The Ladies or Gentlemen that are willing to record adventures in this academy, of their own or others, are desired to send them forthwith to the Undertaker, B. Lintott.”
501. *The Most Lamentable and Deplorable History of the two*

*children in the wood. . . . To which is annexed the old song upon the same.* (12612, d.)  
A chapbook.

1720<sup>1</sup>

502. *The Perfidious Brethren; or the Religious Triumvirate: displayed in three Ecclesiastical novels.* (Bod. G. Pamph., 1852.)
503. *The Power of Love in Seven Novels, viz., I, The Fair Hypocrite; II, the Physician's Stratagem; III, The Wife's Resentment; IV-V, The Husband's Resentment in two examples; VI, The Happy Fugitives, VII, The Perjur'd Beauty,* By Mrs. Manley. (636, d.13.)

1721

504. *The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the famous Moll Flanders, etc.* By D. Defoe. (G. 13539.)  
In 1722, the third edition.
505. *The History of Hypatia, a most impudent school-mistress of Alexandria.* (699, d. 14(5).)  
Not a novel but a news sheet.
506. *Ildegerte, queen of Norway; or, Heroick Love, a novel. Written originally in French by the author of the Happy Slave (rather by E. Le Noble de Tennelière Baron de Saint George) and tr. into Eng. by a gentleman of Oxford.* 2 pts. (12511, f.15.)  
In 1721-22, second edition. 2 pts. (12510, e.20.)  
*The Happy Slave* was written by Bremond but there seems no reason for assigning *Ildegerte* to him.
507. *The Life of Mme. de Beaumont, a French Lady, who lived in a cave in Wales above fourteen years undiscovered. . . . Also her Lord's adventures in Muscovy.* By Penelope Aubin. (12613, a.)
508. *Love in its Empire, illustrated in Seven Novels.* By P. Chamberlayne. (Bodleian, authority of Gay.)
509. *The Secret History of the Prince of the Nazarenes and two Turks.* Third edition. (Bodleian.)  
One of the grossest and least interesting of the secret histories.

<sup>1</sup> On April 13, 1720 the *Daily Post* advertised *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Major Alexander Rankin.*

510. *The Strange Adventures of the Count Vinevil and his family. Being an account of what happened to them whilst they resided at Constantinople.* By P. Aubin. (12604, bb.)

1722<sup>1</sup>

511. *The British Recluse, or the Secret History of Cleomira suppos'd Dead.* By Eliza Haywood. Third edition. There was a fourth edition printed in Dublin in 1724, and a fifth in London, in 1725.
512. *The Comical Pilgrim; or, the travels of a cynick philosopher thro' the most wicked parts of the world, namely England, Wales, etc.* Attributed, but in all probability erroneously, to D. Defoe. (G.13540.) It was first published in November, 1722 and speedily reached a fourth edition.
513. *Due Preparations for the Plague.* By D. Defoe.
514. *The False Duchess, translated from the French.*  
In *Sel. Col. Nov.*, vol. vi.
515. *The History and Remarkable Life of the truly Honourable Colonel Jacque.* By D. Defoe.<sup>2</sup>  
Other editions in 1723, 1724, etc.
516. *The History of Genghizcan* [by Petits de la Croix]. Translated by Penelope Aubin. (147, a.10.)
517. *The History of Leonora Cespedes and Count de Belflor.*  
Written originally in French. In *Sel. Col. Nov.*, vol. iii, and also in a *Col. of Nov.*, ed. by Mrs. E. Griffiths, 1777.
518. *The Innocent Adultery tr. from the French* [of Scarron?].  
In *Sel. Col. Nov.*, vol. iv.
519. *A Journal of the Plague Year.* By Daniel Defoe.  
Often reprinted.
520. *The Life and Actions of Lewis Dominique Cartouche.*  
A translation attributed to D. Defoe, but apparently with little reason.

<sup>1</sup> The *Flying Post* for July 28, 1722 advertized "The Life and Surprizing Adventures of *Don Juliana de Tuzz*, who was Educated by a *Roe*, and lived Forty Five Years in the Island of *Malpa*, an Uninhabited Island in the *East Indies*. Translated from the Portuguese." This curiosity of literature could be had from Thomas Warner for one shilling, but it has escaped recent search.

<sup>2</sup> Some doubt has been thrown on the existence of any copy bearing the date 1722.

521. *The Noble Slaves; or the Lives and Adventures of two lords and two ladies who were ship-wrecked.* By Penelope Aubin. (12511.c.c.)

Another edition was issued in Dublin in 1730? and in 1777 it was included by Mrs. Griffiths in *Sel. Col. of Nov.*

522. *Religious Courtship.* By D. Defoe.

Reprinted in 1729, 1735 4th ed., 1737, 1750, 1762, 1770, 1793.

523. *Select Collection of Novels.*—See Collections.

524. *The Travels and Adventures of three Princes of Sarendip.*

*Interspersed with eight delightful and entertaining novels translated from the Persian [or rather the Italian of Chr. Armento] into French and thence into English.* (Conant.)

1723

525. *Comical and Tragical History of the Lives and Adventures of the most noted Bayliffs.* By Alex. Smith. (12314. f. 7.)

Third edition 1783.

526. *The Highland Rogue; or the memorable actions of the celebrated R. MacGregor, commonly called Rob Roy.* D. Defoe. (10825, c.)

527. *The History of John of Bourbon, Prince of Carency.* Containing a variety of entertaining novels, written in French. Translated into English.

The second edition. (12511, f. 17.)

The novels are ten in number viz.:—The Surprize or the Generous Unknown; The Mutual Mistake or Unhappy Discovery; The Secret Rival or Deceitful Friend; The Perfidious Lady or the Fatal Resentment; The Unfortunate Lover; The Female Captives; The Distressed Lovers; The Revengeful Rival; The Happy Meeting, or, Constant Love Rewarded.

As the titles indicate these are all stories of the cloak and sword variety in which the changes are rung on crossed loves, lovelorn damsels, gentlemen pirates, kidnappings, the miseries of slavery, amorous Moors, and the like.

528. *Idalia; or, The Unfortunate Mistress.* A novel. By Mrs. Haywood. (12614, d.1.)  
 Reprinted with the addition of a third part in her collected works and translated into French in 1770. (Gay.)
529. *An Impartial History of the Life and Actions of Peter Alexowitz, the present Czar of Muscovy, etc.* Attributed to D. Defoe.
530. *The Life and adventures of Pedrillo del Campo intermixed with several entertaining and delightful novels.* Translated into English by Ralph Brookes. (12490, aaa.12.)
531. *The Lives and Amours of the Empresses, consorts to the first twelve Caesars of Rome. . . .* Translated by G. James [from the French of Jacques Roergas de Serviez]. (10605, c.10.)
532. *Love in Excess, or The Fatal Enquiry; a Novel in Three Parts.* By Eliza Haywood.  
 There was a sixth edition in 1725.
533. *The Loves of Osmin and Doraxa* [from Guzman de Alfarache] with the Novelas of Cervantes.  
 Advertised in Sel. Col. Nov.
534. *The Patchwork Screen for the Ladies; or, Love and Virtue recommended in a collection of instructive novels.*  
 By Mrs. Jane Barker. (1079, d.13.)
535. *The Unhappy Loves of Herod and Mariamne introductory to Mr. Fenton's new tragedy.* (641, e.28.(1).)

## 1724

536. *The Arragonian Queen, a secret history.* (Pickering & Chatto Cat. Pt. M.)
537. *Female Grievances Debated.* Fourth edition. (8415, b. 15.)
538. *The Fortunate Mistress; or a History of the Life of Mlle. de Beleau afterwards call'd the Countess of Wintsel-sheim. . . . Being the Person known by the name of Lady Roxana.* By D. Defoe. (G. 13737.)  
 Reissued in 1740 and often thereafter.  
 Revised by Noble in 1775.
539. *The History of the Remarkable Life of John Sheppard.*  
 By D. Defoe.

Issued three times in that year. Lee also assigns to Defoe *A Narrative of all the Robberies, Escapes, etc. of John Sheppard*, which went through 7 editions in November and December, 1724.

540. *The Injured Husband, or the Mistaken Resentment.* By Mrs. Haywood. Dublin. (D.N.B.)
541. *Lasselie; or, the Self-abandoned. A novel.* By Mrs. Haywood. Second edition. (12613, c.(1).)
542. *Letters of a Lady of Quality to a Chevalier.* By Eliza Haywood. (D. N. B.)
543. *A New Voyage Round the World, by a course never sailed before undertaken by some merchants who afterward proposed the setting up of an East Indian Company in Flanders.* By D. Defoe. 2 pts. (838, c.4.)
544. *The Rash Resolve; or, the untimely discovery. A novel.* By Eliza Haywood. Second edition. (12613, c.(2).)
545. *The Reformed Coquette. A Novel.* By Mrs. Mary Davys. (12604, aaa.)  
Dublin, 1735, a second edition.

1725<sup>1</sup>

546. *An Account of the Conduct . . . of the late J. Gow alias Smith, captain of the late pirates executed. . . .* By D. Defoe. (518, c.4.)
547. *The Amorous Bugbears; or, The humours of a masquerade Intended as a supplement to the London-Spy.* (11644, g.36(1).)
548. *Bajazet; or the Imprudent Favorite, in Five Novels translated from the French of J. Regnauld de Segrais (Conant.)*
549. *Bath-Intrigues; in a Collection of Original Letters to a Friend in London.* [Signed J. B. i. e. Mrs. Manley?] (1080, i.42.)
550. *Chinese tales, or the Wonderful Adventures of the Mandarin Fum-Hoam translated from the French [of T. S. Guenlette].*

<sup>1</sup> To this year belongs Mrs. Haywood's translation of *La Belle Assemblie; a curious collection of some remarkable incidents which happened to Persons of Quality* from the French of Mme. de Gomez. (12512. c.) There were other editions in 1728 and 1736-35.

Another translation as *Mogul tales*, 1736, second edition,  
1743. (Conant.)

551. *The Fatal Secret*. By Eliza Haywood. Third edition.  
(D. N. B.)
552. *Fantomima, or Love in a Maze*. By Eliza Haywood.  
(D. N. B.)
553. *The Lady's Philosopher's Stone: or, the Caprices of Love  
and Destiny. An historical Novel. Written in French  
by M. L'Abbé de Costero and now translated into  
English*. (Pickering and Chatto, Cat. II.)
554. *Love upon Tick: or, implicit gallantry exemplified*. Third  
edition with additions. (1132 c.44.)
555. *Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, being the Secret History of  
her Life and the real causes of her misfortunes*.  
Translated from the French [by Eliza Haywood].  
A second edition appeared in 1726. (Col. M1.M366.)
556. *The Matchless Rogue, or an account of the contrivances,  
cheats, stratagems and amours of T. M. to the hour of  
his exit at Newgate*. (1417, e.9.)
557. *Memoirs of the Baron de Brosse . . . containing an account  
of his Amours*. (Gay.)
558. *Memoirs of a certain Island adjacent to the Kingdom of  
Utopia*. By Mrs. Haywood. 2 vols. (12613 g.)
559. *Mrs. Manley's History of her Life and Times*. See *Life  
of Rivella*, no. 475, 1714.
560. *Secret Histories, Novels, and Poems written by Mrs.  
Eliza Haywood*. Second edition. 4 vols. (12612,  
ee.)

This seems to be a reprint of a 1724 edition. There  
was also a shorter collection published in 2 vols.  
in 1725. The longer edition was reprinted in 1732.  
The following tales are included:

Fantomima; or Love in a Maze. Being a Secret  
History of an Amour between two Persons of  
Condition.

The British Recluse.

Idalia—In three parts.

The Injured Husband, or the Mistaken Resentment.  
Lasselia, or the Self-abandoned.

The Rash Resolve.

The Fatal Secret: or Constancy in Distress.

561. *A Stage-coach Journey to Exeter, describing the humours of the road, with the characters of the Company. In eight Letters to a Friend.* By Mrs. Manley. [See no. 405, 1696.]

562. *The Surprise.* By Mrs. Haywood. (D.N.B.)

563. *The Tea Table; or, a Conversation between some persons of both sexes at a Ladies Visiting Day.* By Mrs. Haywood. (635.f.11(5).)

564. *The True, Genuine and Perfect Account of the Life and Actions of Jonathan Wild.* By D. Defoe.<sup>1</sup>

Lee gives these editions in June, 1725.

565. *The Unequal Conflict; or, Nature triumphant. A Novel.* By Mrs. Eliza Haywood.

Advertised by Crockett in *The Whimsical Lovers*.

566. *The Whimsical Lovers; or, Cupid in disguise. A Novel.* By Mrs. Symmons. (12614, ff.)

### 1726<sup>2</sup>

567. *The Distressed Orphan, or Love in a Mad-house.* Written by Herself. The third edition. (12611, f.(14).)

Reprinted about 1810 as *Love in a Madhouse; or the History of Eliza Hartley, the Distressed Orphan*.

<sup>1</sup> Attention should be called to three books often ascribed to Defoe but rejected by late bibliographers, to wit, "The Four Years Voyages of Capt. George Roberts" (1726), "The Military Memoirs of Capt. George Carleton" (1728), and "Madagascar: or, Robert Drury's Journal" (1729). The second of these has been assigned by Colonel Arthur Parnell to Dean Swift, but there is strong internal evidence that connects Defoe, at least in the capacity of editor, with all three books. Carleton and Drury certainly, and perhaps Roberts, were real men who may have furnished the materials out of which Defoe constructed the accounts of their adventures.

<sup>2</sup> Attention should be called to the popular and romantic "*Voyages and Adventures of Captain Robert Boyle*" of 1726, which has been assigned to Defoe, but which seems to be clearly by William Rufus Chetwood, for whose other work in fiction, practically all in the year 1740-41, see the article in *D. N. B.* Another story erroneously attributed to Defoe is "*The History of Antonois. Containing a Relation how that Young Nobleman was accidentally left alone, in his Infancy, upon a desolate Island; where he lived nineteen years, remote from all Humane Society,*" etc., 1736.

568. *The Entertaining Novels of Mrs. Jane Barker.*

Advertised by Bettsworth as the second edition.

The earliest known edition is that of 1736 which was reprinted in 1743.

The collection includes.

*Exilius.*

*Clelia and Marcellus; or the Constant Lovers.*

*The Reward of Virtue; or the Adventures of Clarenthia and Lysander.*

*The Lucky Escape; or the Fate of Ismenius.*

*Clodius and Scipiana; or the Beautiful Captive.*

*Piso; or the Lewd Courtier.*

*The Happy Recluse; or, the Charms of Liberty.*

*The Fair Widow or False Friend.*

*The Amours of Bosvil and Galesia.*

569. *The Life and Adventures of the Lady Lucy, daughter to an Irish Lord.* By Mrs. Penelope Aubin. (635a.4.(2).)570. *The Lining of the Patch-work Screen.* By Mrs. Jane Barker. (Bodleian.)571. *Memoirs of the Life and Times of the Famous Jonathan Wilde.* By Capt. Alexander Smith. (Lit. of R., p. 155.) (615, a.28.)572. *The Mercenary Lover; or, The Unfortunate Heiresses, Being a true secret history of a City Amour, in a certain island adjacent to the kingdom of Utopia. Written by the author of Memoirs of the said Island.* (E. Haywood). "Translated into English." (12611, i.16.)

In 1728 reprinted with the *Padlock* third ed. (12316 bbb.38(b).)

573. *Travails into Several Remote Nations of the World.* By Lemuel Gulliver first Surgeon and then Captain of several Ships. Two vols. in four pts. [By Jonathan Swift.] (838, c.6.)

There were two other editions in 1726, as well as *L. G.'s travels, . . . compendiously methodized, with a key, observations etc.* In 1727 this was reprinted

and two other editions of the work as well, and it continued to be reprinted frequently.<sup>1</sup>

1727

574. *The Illustrious French Lovers ; being the true histories of the amours of several French persons of quality . . . . Written originally in French and translated into English by Mrs. Penelope Aubin.* 2 vols. (12511, bb.18.)

In 1739, a second edition was published.<sup>2</sup>

575. *The Life of Madame de Villesache.* Written by a Lady, who was an eye-witness of the greatest part of her adventures, and faithfully translated from her manuscript [or rather written] by Mrs. E. H[aywood]. (12331. bbb.42(2).)

576. *Philidore and Pacentia.* By Mrs. Haywood. D. N. B.

577. *The Poetical Works of Philip, late duke of Wharton.* . . . . Also two interesting novels by the celebrated Mrs. A. Plantin . . . with a genuine account of the life of that nobleman (11607, bbb.)

In 1731, reprinted with additions. It contains two novels by Mrs. Plantin, *The Ungrateful* and *Love led Astray*.

578. *The Secret History of the Present Intrigues of the court of Caramania.* By Mrs. Haywood.

<sup>1</sup> The *Daily Journal* for Feb. 6, 1731 advertised for the next Wednesday, two volumes of the "Travels of Mr. John Gulliver, son to Capt. Lemuel Gulliver, translated from the French by Mr. Lockman." In 1728 (Nov. 16) the *Country Journal or the Craftsman* advertised as lately published "*A Trip to the Moon*" by Murdoch McDermot, printed at Dublin and reprinted in London, with what seems to have been an obscene dedication to Captain Lemuel Gulliver. This item has been advertised as early as Feb. 22, 1728, cf. the *Whitehall Evening Post*.

<sup>2</sup> An undated edition of Mrs. Aubin's works in the Col. Libr. contains: *The Noble Slaves; The Life and Adventures of Lucinda; Conjugal Duty Rewarded or the Rake Reformed; Life and Amorous Adventures of Lucinda; Fortune favors the Bold; Count de Vinevil; Lady Lucy; Life and Adventures of young Coun. Albertus. . . . Son of Count L. A. by Lady Lucy; Life of Charlotte du Pont, Madame de Beaumont.* Five of these, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, I have not found elsewhere.

1728

579. *The Disguised Prince; or the beautiful Parisian. A true history tr. from the French* (or rather written by E. Haywood). (12511, h.5.).
580. *Female Excellency; or, the Ladies Glory. Illustrated in the worthy lives and memorable actions of . . . Deborah, the valiant Judith, Queen Esther, . . . Susanna . . . Lucretia, Vodicia, Mariamme . . . Clotilda Andegona.* By Richard Burton (*i. e.*, Nathaniel Crouch). Third edition. (10604, a.)
581. *Friendship in Death in twenty Letters from the Dead to the Living.* By Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe.<sup>1</sup> (Col.824.R79. L.)
582. *The History of King Appius. . . . By a gentleman who served in the Persian armies.* (P. F. Godart de Beauchamp.) Translated from the French.  
London and Dublin. (12330 aaa.13.)  
A story with disguised personages to which a key was published in 1764.
583. *The Illegal Lovers; a true secret history. Being an amour between a person of condition and his sister.* Written by one who did reside in the family. (1079, i.12(1).)  
The sister turns out to be an unfortunate orphan adopted by the hero's family. The story is the same as that in the *Letters*. See nos. 298, 1682; 394, 1693; 627, 1734.
584. *The Irish Artifice; or the History of Clarinda, a novel.* By Mrs. Haywood. In the *Female Duncaid*. (F.857(2).)
585. *Life and Amours of the Count de Tourenne.* (Gay.)
586. *Psyche.*
587. *The Royal Shepherdess.*
588. *Tarsus and Zelie.*
589. *Xenophon's Ephesian History, or Love Adventures, of Abrocomas and Anthia in five books.*  
All advertised by J. Love in the 1728 edition of the *Mercenary Lover*.

<sup>1</sup> Advertised in the *Whitehall Evening Post* for Jan. 16, 1727-8.

1729

590. *Adventures of Abdalla, Son of Hanif, sent by the Sultan of the Indies to make a Discovery of the Island of Borico . . . translated into French from an Arabick manuscript . . . by Mr. de Sandisson . . . done into English by William Hatchett.*

A second edition was issued in 1730.

591. *The Fair Hebrew, or a True but Secret History of Two Jewish Ladies who lately resided in London.* By Mrs. Haywood.

Gay further states that this story was reprinted in the *Reader*, 1880.

A story with a somewhat similar title, *La Belle Juive*, was included in a collection of current novels called *Histoires tragiques et Galantes* published at Paris, 1731.

592. *Letters, Moral and Entertaining in Prose and Verse.* Part I. By Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe. Part II was added in 1731 and Part III in 1733.

593. *The Life of the Countess de Gondez* tr. by Penelope Aubin. (12511, aaaa.17.)

594. *The Life and Intrigues of the late celebrated Mrs. Mary Parrimore, &c.*

595. *Persecuted Virtue, or the Cruel Lover.* By Mrs. Eliza Haywood. (D. N. B. 1730.)

1730

596. *The Amours of Philaris and Olinda* (dedication signed S. L.). (8028 bbb.16.)

A belated and vulgar Arcadian romance.

597. *The Brother; or, Treachery punished. Interspersed with the Adventures of Don Alvare, . . . Don Lorenzo, Cupid and Bacchus, a dramatic entertainment, and the adventures of Mariana, sister to Don Alvarez.* Written by a Person of Quality. (1459, b.30.)

A series of cloak and sword novels.

598. *Love-Letters on all occasions lately passed between persons of distinction.* By Mrs. Haywood. (1016 f. 8.)

599. *The Northern Worthies; or the lives of Peter the Great, father of his country . . . and of Catherine the late*

*Czarina.* By Fontenelle tr. by J. Price. 2 pts.  
second edition. (611, a.10.)

600. *Persian Anecdotes; or Secret Memoirs of the Court of Persia. Written originally in French . . . by the celebrated Madame de Gomez. Translated by Paul Chamberlain.* (Conant.)

601. *Persian Letters by C. de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu translated by Mr. Ozell.*

There was a third edition in 1731 and a sixth in Edinburgh in 1773.

602. *The Ramble; or a View of several amorous and diverting intrigues . . . between some ladies of Drury Lane and two certain Rakes.* (1079.ii26(3).)

Chandler, *Lit. of R.*, i. 150, assigns this to G. Fidge, 1651.

603. *The Voyages of Cyrus.* Translated from the French of Chevalier Ramsay. [Paris, 1727.] (Dunlop.)

#### 1731

604. *The Amours of the Count de Soissons . . . in a . . . relation of the gallantries of persons of distinction . . . during the ministry of Cardinal Richelieu . . . Translated from the French . . . by J. Seguin.* The second edition. (1801, d.25.)

Cf. *Modern Novels*, 1692.

605. *The Constant Lovers; being an entertaining history of the amours and adventures of Solenus and Perrigonia, Alexis and Sylvia.* By John Littleton Costeker. (12613, 3.)

606. *The History of Executions.* Edition by Applebee.  
Reprinted in 1732 with the addition of *The Lives of the most remarkable criminals.* (*Lit. of R.*, i. 178.)

Other editions in 1728, 1736-35.

607. *The Life of Mahomet.* Translated from the French (10605, b.)

Reprinted in 1752.

608. *Love à la Mode; or the amours of Florella and Phillis; being the memoir of two celebrated ladies under those names.* (12614 g.)

609. *The Memoirs of Miss Cadier and her Father.* (Gay.)

610. *Milk for Babes, Meat for Strong Men. . . . Being a Comical, Sarcastical . . . Account of a late election in Bagdad, for Cailiff of that City. By . . . Alexander the Copper Smith.* Second edition. (Conant.)
611. *The Progress of a Rake; showing the various Intrigues he met with.* (12330 ccc.34(6).)
612. *The Scarborough Miscellany. An original collection of poems, odes, tales. None of which ever appeared in print before. By several hands.* (12330, k.12(3).)  
In 1734 a second edition appeared.
613. *Two Journals; the first kept by seven sailors in the island of St. Maurice in Greenland & Done out of Low Dutch.*  
In a Col. of Voyages and Travels. (566, k.7.)
614. *The Unhappy Lovers; or, the History of James Welston, Gent . . . together with his voyages and travels.*  
(Bound with the *Mercenary Lover.*)
615. *Winter Evening Tales.* See Collections.

## 1732

616. *An Account of Cochin-China. In two Parts. Translated from the Italian of Chris. Borro, by A. and J. Churchill.* In a Col. of Voyages and Travels (566 K.7.)
617. *The Life of Sethos. Taken from private memoirs of the Ancient Egyptians. Translated from a Greek Manuscript into French [or rather an original work by J. Terrasson] and now faithfully done into English by Mr. Lediari.* (289. a. 76.)

## 1733

618. *The Adventures of Prince Jakaya; or, The triumph of love over ambition. Being secret memoirs of the Ottoman court. Translated from the original French [of Adrian de La Vieuville D'Orville]. 2vols.* (12491C.33.)  
Cf. the *Annals of Love*, no. 20.
619. *The Desperadoes; an heroick history. Tr. from the Italian . . . of Giovanni Ambrogio Marini.* (12477, b.17.)
620. *Rosalinda; a Novel. Containing the histories of Rosalinda and Lealdus, Dorisba and Leander, Emilia and Edward,*

*Adelais, Daughter of Otho II, and Alerames, Duke of Saxony. With a most remarkable story of Edmund, the gallant Earl of Salisbury . . . By a man of Quality.*  
*Tr. from the French [of Gaspard Moise Fontanieu].* (12512, dd.40.)

A romance somewhat between *Telemachus* and the heroic romances.

621. *The Secret History of Mama Oello, Princess royal of Peru* (i. e., Princess Anne daughter of George II). A new court novel. With a key. (1418d.4O.)

1734

622. *L'Entretein des Beaux Esprits.* Translated from the French of Mme. de Gomez by Mrs. Haywood. (D.N.B.)
623. *General History of the Lives and Adventures of the most noted highwaymen.* By Captain Charles Johnson. (L. of R.)
624. *General History of the Robberies and murders of the most famous Pyrates.* By Ch. Johnson [before 1734].
625. *The Life and Adventures of Mr. Cleveland, natural son of Oliver Cromwell, etc.* [A romance tr. from the French entitled *Le Philosophe anglais* by Antoine François Prevost d'Exiles.] 4 vols. (1251623).<sup>1</sup>  
 In 1736, another edition, Dublin.
626. *Love in all its Shapes, Illustrated by the various practices of the Jesuits with Ladies of Quality.* (Gay.)
627. *Love-Letters between a nobleman and his sister . . . viz. E. . . .* (Forde) *Lord G . . . (rey) of Werk and the Lady Henrietta B(erkeley).* Second edition. (111626 a.24.) Cf. no. 298, 1682; 393, 1693; 583, 1728.
628. *The Pleasant Companion; or, Wit in all shapes; being a choice collection of novels, tales.* (Bod. Douce N. 34.)  
 The novels are:  
 Love's Artifice, or the Negro.  
 The Despairing Prodigal.  
 The Labyrinth, or the Fortunate Thief [from Painter].

<sup>1</sup> This book was announced in the *Daily Journal*, Mar. 10, 1731 as in press and in the *London Evening Post* for April 10, 1731 as published that day.

## The Mistake.

The Midnight Ramble [from Cervantes].

629. *The Unnatural Mother; or, Innocent Love persecuted.*  
*Being the history of the . . . fatal consequences that attended the . . . passion of a gentleman . . . in the Law and a young Lady.* (11775bbb.)

1735

630. *The English Nobleman; or the Peasant of Quality. A true History.* Westminster. (12511df.12.)

631. *The Fortunate and Unfortunate Lovers* [Dorastus and Fawnia; Hero and Leander]. By H. Stanhope. (12611, d.22.)

Cf. no. 308, 1683.

632. *Letters from a Persian in England to his Friend at Ispahan.* By George Lyttleton, First Baron.

There was a fifth edition in 1735.

633. *Memoirs of Gaudentio de Lucca.* (Gay.)

634. *The Most Entertaining History of Hypolite and Amynte.* Advertised in the *Fortunate Lovers*.

635. *The Skimmer, or the History of Tanzai and Neardarne* (a Japanese tale) translated from the French of [C. P. de Jolyot de Crebillon].

There was another edition in 1778. (Conant.)

636. *The Tragical History of the Chevalier du Vaudray and the Countess Vergi.* Translated by Mr. Morgan.

Advertised in *The Fortunate Lovers*.

637. *A Trip through the Town. Containing Observations on the Humours and Manners of the Age.* Fourth edition.

1736

638. *The Adventures of Evaii, Princess of Ijaveo.* By Elizabeth Haywood. (Bodleian.)

Reprinted in 1741 as *The Unfortunate Princess*.

639. *Celenia; or the hystory of Heyempsal, king of Numidia* [Dedication signed Zelis the Persian]. 2 vols. (12612.d.)

Reëdited in 1742.

640. *Mogul Tales . . . Now first translated into Eng. with a*

*prefatory discourse on the usefulness of romances.*  
2 vols. (1076, i.43.)

641. *Memoirs and History of Prince Titi.* Done from the French [of H. Cordonnier de Saint-Hyacinthe] by a Person of Quality. (12511cc.2.)
642. *Le Paysan Parvenue.* Translated from the French of Marivaux. (Cited by Miss C. L. Thompson in her *Samuel Richardson*.)
643. *La Vie de Marianne.* Translated from the French of Marivaux. (Cited by Miss C. L. Thompson in her *Samuel Richardson*.)

1737

644. *The Bachelor of Salamanca; or, Memoirs of Don Cherubim de la Ronde.* In 3pts. . . . Translated [from the French of Alain René Le Sage)] by Mr. Lockman.  
2 vols. (12510b.29.)
645. *The Female Page: a Genuine and Interesting History Relating to some Persons of Distinction.* By Elizabeth Boyd. (012611g.17.)

It bears the running title "The Happy Unfortunate."

1738

646. *The Life and Heroick Actions of the Eighth Champion of Christendom; with a particular account of his combat with the man in the moon, etc.* (Professes to be extracted from the work of R. Johnson.) By J. Gurthrie. (12603.aa.)

This is a satire.

1739

647. *Chinese Letters; being a Philosophical, Historical, and Critical Correspondence between a Chinese Traveler at Paris and his Countrymen in China, Muscovy, Persia and Japan.* Translated . . . into [or rather written in] French by the Marquis d'Argenson; and now done into English. Reissued in 1741. (Conant.)
648. *The Unfortunate Dutchess; or, The Lucky Gamester;* a novel founded on a true story. (Bod. G. Pamph., 1310 (12).)

1740

649. *The City Jilt; or, the A(l)derman* (J. Barber?) turned Beau. (8227bb.)
650. *The Cruel Mistress; being the genuine trial of E. B. and her daughter for the murder of Jane Buttersworth their servantmaid, etc.* Second edition. (518f.69.)
651. *The Life and Adventures of Mrs. C. Davies commonly called Mother Ross.* By R. Burton (or D. Defoe as some authorities, without good reason, think). (10826ee.16.)
- In 1741 reprinted.
652. *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded. In a series of Familiar Letters from a beautiful young damsel to her Parents.* By Samuel Richardson.
653. *The Whimsical Apothecary; a secret history.*  
Advertised in *The City Jilt* and probably identical with the *Gentleman Apothecary*, no. 202, 1670.

The following novels are mentioned by Langbaine but I have been unable to find out anything further about them:

1. *The English Adventurers* furnished the source for Shirley's *The Doubtful Heir*.
2. *The English Lovers*, by John Dancer, written between 1660 and 1675, comprised numerous novels which furnished plots for plays.
3. *Elvira* furnished the plot of Lord Digby's tragicomedy *Elvira* about 1667.
4. *The German Princess, a Novel*, was the source for *A Witty Combat*, in 1663.
5. *The Overthrow of Capis. Ward and Daneke* was the source for the play *A Christian turn'd Turk* in 1609.
6. *The Wall-Flower*, by Dr. Baily, furnished George Powell with the plot for *The Treacherous Brother*, 1690.

AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE MORE IMPORTANT  
REPRINTS

1. *Amadis of Gaule*. Bk. I was translated by A. Munday in 1590, Bk. II in 1595, and Bks. III and IV some time before 1618. Early in 1619 all four books were reprinted by Nich. Oakes.
2. *Arbasto, King of Denmark*. By Robert Greene, in 1626.
3. *Arnalte and Lucenda*. [By Hernandez de San Pedro in 1491, tr. in 1575.] 1608 and 1660.
4. *Bevis of Southampton* in 1638-39, 1690, and advertised in the *T. C.* for 1692.
5. *Ciceronis Amor, Tullies Love*. By Robert Greene, in 1605, 1611, 1616, 1628, 1639, described as the tenth edition.
6. *The Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia*. By Sir Philip Sidney. [1590] in 1605, 1613, 1621, with Alexander's third book, 1623, 1627, with Beling's sixth book, 1629, with additions, 1633, 1654-55 with add. and biography of Sidney, 1662, 1674, 1725 modernized by Mrs. Stanley "With the poems omitted 'to please the subscribers.'" In 1701, it was condensed as *The Famous History of Heroic Acts: or, The Honour of Chivalry. Being an abstract of Pembroke's Arcadia*. [By I. N.]
7. *Daphnis and Chloe* of Longus [1598]. Retranslated in 1657, and again, by James Craggs, in 1733.
8. *An Ethiopican Historie: Fyrst Written in Greeke by Heliodorus and translated into English by T(homas) U(nderdowne)*. Entered for Thomas Harris, Sept. 6, 1602, and November 21, for Cotton, but his edition bears the date 1606. In 1622, another edition; *Heliodorus his Ethiopican Historie done out of Greeke* [by Underdowne] and compared [by the editor V. Barrett] with other translations in diverse languages. 1638, *The Famous Historie of Heliodorus. Amplified, augmented, and delivered paraphrastically in verse by W. Lisle*. 1687, *The Triumphs of Love and Constancy: a Romance, containing the Heroick Amours of Theagenes and Chariclea. In ten books. The first by a Person of Quality, the last five by N. Tate*. Second edition,

The first edition is presumably that advertised in the *T.C.*, 1684, under the title *The Triumphs of Love and Constancy*.

Other references on the *S.R.* are as follows:

1619, Feb. 16, transferred to Snodham; 1619, July 8, transferred to Lawrence Haies; 1625, Dec. 19, transferred to Alde; 1638, Sept. 4, transferred to Haviland Wright.

The date of the original edition of Underdowne's translation is uncertain. In 1569, Francis Coldock was licensed to publish "The ende of the Xth. booke of Heliodorus Ethiopian Historye" but there is no edition bearing that date. Yet Underdowne in the preface to the 1587 edition mentions it "as not long since." Bliss, in his edition of Anthony à Wood states positively that the earliest edition is 1577, and that the same is represented by an undated copy in the Bodleian Library.

9. *Euphues; the Anatomy of Wyt* [1579] and *Euphues and his England* [1581]. By John Lyly. In 1606, 1607, 1609?, 1613, 1617, 1623, 1630, 1636, 1716 "the seventeenth edition much altered."
10. *The Golden Asse* of Lucius Apuleius. Entered for Charles Knight June 26, 1600. This is presumbaly a reprint of the translation by William Adlington which first appeared in 1566 and was reprinted in 1571 and 1596. References occur in lists of transfers in *S. R.* for May, 1629, March 8, 1635-6, and July 12, 1639. On July 12, 1637, a translation by "W. S." was entered for John Thomas. Huth mentions an edition of 1641 but does not specify the translation.
11. *Griselda*, i. e., *The History of the Noble Marquis of Salus and Patient Grissel*, 1619, 1630?, 1660, and 1703.
12. *Guy, Earl of Warwick*, in 1640, 1681, 1706, 1711, 1733.
13. *Lazarillo de Tormes* [The first part was originally translated in 1568.] 1619?, 1638?, 1653, 1655, 1670, 1672, 1677, 1708, 1726.
14. *Menaphon* [1589]. By Robert Greene. 1607?, 1610, 1616.
15. *Ornatus and Artesia* [1598]. By Emanuel Ford. 1607, 1634, 1654 the fourth, 1669, 1683.

16. *Palmyryn of England*. [1588] 1602, 1609, 1616, 1617?, 1639 with *Florian*, 1664.
17. *Palmyryn d'Oliva*. [1588], 1615, 1637 and many undated editions.
18. *Pandosto, or Dorastus and Fawnia* [1588]. By Robert Greene. 1614, 1648, 1677, 1688, 1696 moralized and bound with *Josephus*, 1703, 1750?.
19. *Parismus* [1598]. By Emanuel Ford. 1608, 1609, 1615, 1630, 1633, 1636, 1649 the thirteenth, 1657, 1663, 1664, 1665, 1668, 1671, 1677, 1680?, 1684, 1690, 1696, 1699, 1701, 1704, 1713.
20. *Philomela* [1592]. By Robert Greene. 1615 and 1631.
21. *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier*. By R. Greene. 1620 and 1635.
22. *Rosalynde, Euphues Golden Legacie* [1590]. By Thos. Lodge. 1607, 1609, 1612, 1623, 1634.
23. *Robin Hood*. The editions are seldom dated but there was one in 1678, and others in 1700? and 1712.
24. *The Destruction of Troy* [as translated by Caxton]. 1607 the fifth edition, others in 1617, 1663, 1670, 1676, 1680, 1684, 1702, 1708, 1738 at Dublin described as the eighteenth.
25. *Utopia*. By Sir Thomas More. The Latin version was printed in 1516 and reprinted in England in 1663, 1750, 1771. An English translation appeared in 1551, by Robinson, which was reprinted in 1556, 1597, 1624, 1639. Burnet's version was printed by Chiswell in 1684 and reprinted in Dublin in 1737.
26. *Valentine and Orson* [1586] or earlier. 1637, 1649?, 1673?, 1680?, 1690?, 1697?, 1700?, 1710, 1724, 1736 described as the sixteenth, 1741.
27. *Vienna, Noe Art can cure this Heart* [1485]. 1620, 1638?, 1650.
28. *The Voyage of the Wandering Knight* [1572]. By Jean Cartigny [tr. 1581], 1607, 1615?, 1620, 1650, 1661, 1670, 1687 as *The Conviction of Worldly Vanity*.

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL COLLECTIONS OF NOVELS WITH THE NOVELS CONTAINED IN EACH

I. *The Annals of Love, containing Select Histories of the Amours of Divers Princes Courts Pleasantly Related.*

For J. Starkey, London, 1672.

1. Countess of Castile elopes with a Pilgrim.
2. Alfreda of England.
3. Don Garcia. The revenge taken by the husband of the Countess of Castile.
4. The Duke and the Duchess of Modena.  
This couple, passionately loved by the Empress and Emperor respectively, are loyal to each other and while talking over their plight in a garden are overheard by the emperor and practically compelled to commit suicide.
5. Three Princesses of Castile.  
Urasia, wife of Raymond, is unloved by him. Her sister Elvira, exasperated by her husband, yields to Raymond. The discovery of her crime leads to the death of all concerned.  
Theresa, equally disloyal, manages her affairs with such discretion as to avoid detection.
6. Agnes de Castro.
7. Constance the fair Nun marries the son of her lover, the Emperor Frederick.
8. James King of Aragon. His revenge on a faithless wife.
9. The Fraticelles or Hypocritical Fryars.
10. Dulcinus, King of Lombardy.
11. Nogaret and Mariana.
12. Don Pedro, King of Castile.
13. John Paleologus, Emperour of Greece.
14. Amedy, Duke of Savoy.
15. Countess of Pontieuvre.
16. Feliciane.
17. Jone, supposed of Castile.

18. The Persian Princess.
19. Don Sebastian, King of Portugal.
20. Jecaya a Turkish Prince.

This tale, enlarged, reappeared in 1733 as *The Adventures of P. J.*, a translation from D'Orville.

II. *A Collection of Select Discourses out of the most Eminent Wits of France and Italy. A Preface to M. Sarassin's Works by M. Pelissin.* By S. R. for Henry Brome, London, 1678. (836c.1.)

1. A Dialogue of Love, by M. Sarassin.
2. Wallenstein's Conspiracy, by M. Sarassin.
3. Alcidalis, a Romance, by M. Voiture.

In 1676 a burlesque version of this romance appeared under the title *Zelinde an excellent new romance.*

4. Freskie's Conspiracy by Sig. Mascardi.

There are also discourses on style and letters to the dead, such as one to Cleopatre urging her to kill herself.

III. *Delightful Novels Exemplified in Eight Choice and Elegant Histories Lately Related by the most Refined Wits; with Interludes . . . in which are comprised the Gallant Adventures, Amorous Intrigues, and Famous Enterprizes of several English Gentry. With the most Pathetick Oratory and Subtil Stratagems used in Love-Affairs. The fourth Impression, Enlarged with the Addition of two New Novels.* Printed by Benj. Crayle, 1686. (1081d.6.)

The stories are eight in number.

1. Honorious. The tale of a poor reprobate who won a rich wife by a trick.
2. Amasius and Ortelia. These lovers were betrothed, but desiring to make a better match Amasius's father tried to force him to marry another, whereupon Ortelia died of grief and was shortly followed to the grave by her lover.
3. Cratander. He rescued an heiress from a cruel death by a murderous uncle and is rewarded by winning her hand and her wealth.

4. Charilius. A very gross story of a man who in trying to deceive an heiress was himself outwitted.
5. Joanna. The heroine while a child ran away with the gypsies, but as it happened that she was brought up by an uncle her sudden disappearance was looked upon as suspicious and he was charged with murdering her. Upon being brought to trial he attempted to substitute another child for the lost one, which fraud, being found out, was used as evidence against him, and he was convicted and executed. Years later the little Joanna reappeared as a gypsy and married the son of the judge that sentenced her uncle. The management of the court scenes and the careful weaving of the net of circumstantial evidence is well done.

The story was reprinted in many undated chapbooks.

6. Orithia. This is the old story of the "Duchess of Savoy."
7. Clitia. This wicked courtezan induced Leander to kill his wife in order to marry her, not because she loved him but because such a marriage would conceal her intrigue with Clitophon. She died just before the ceremony, whereupon Leander committed suicide.
8. Aurelia. She was the lady of Count Baldwin and in love with his page. The latter proved to be a girl, who being left destitute when the husband with whom she had eloped had been killed by robbers, had adopted the life of a page as a means to earn her living. Shortly after this disclosure, Aurelia died and Baldwin promptly married his quondam page.

**IV. Modern Novels.** In Twelve Volumes. Bentley and Magnes. London, 1681-93. (12410.c.)

This collection is composed of forty-six current novels printed for the most part before 1692 although the last volume bears the date 1693. Apparently the publishers simply bound together copies left on their

hands, for the title-pages bear varying dates and the print and paper are not uniform.

Vol. I.

1. The Earl of Essex and Queen Elizabeth.
2. The Duke of Alanson and Queen Elizabeth.
3. The King of Tamaran or Hattige. By G. Bremond (?) (1680.)  
A very coarse tale of a faithless mistress.
4. Homais, Queen of Tunis, by Sebastian Grenadine. (1681.)  
A coarse love-intrigue.
5. The Lucky Mistake: a new novel. (1689.) By A. Behn.

Volume II.

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The prince married a subject, and after his wife's death is prevailed upon to declare the child illegitimate, but later he discovered his brother was plotting against him and made the child his heir. The descriptions of the country are better than usual. Probably there is a covert allusion to Charles and the Duke of Monmouth.

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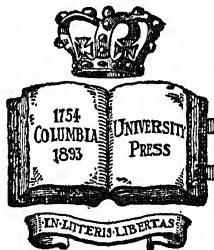
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